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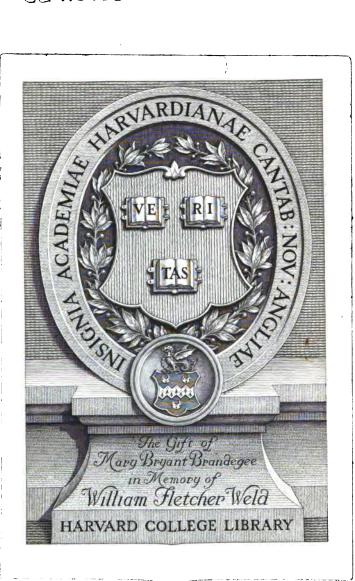
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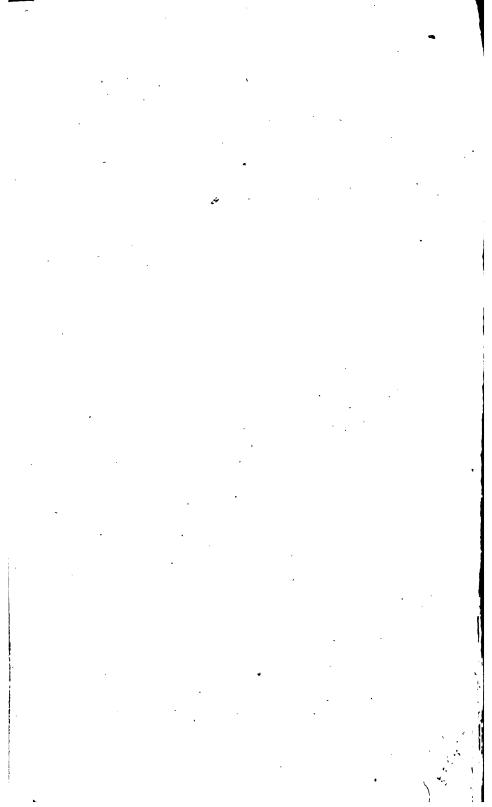


ARRIAN'S HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

VOL. II.



ARRIAN'S

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HISTORY

O.

ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH

NOTES

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND CRITICAL

BY MR. ROOKE.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

MR. LE CLERC'S CRITICISM UPON QUINTUS CURTIUS;

AND SOME REMARKS UPON

MR. PERIZONIUS'S VINDICATION OF THAT AUTHOR.

A NEW EDITION,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. LEA; J. NUNN; LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO.; WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO.; J. FAULDER; AND J. WALKER AND CO.

1814.

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ARRIAN'S

HISTORŸ

OF

ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER then entered that part of the country which lies between the two rivers Cophenes and Indus, where Nysa is said to be situate. This was built by Dionysus, or Bacchus, * when he con-

* Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 10, 12, that the "inhabitants affirmed Bacchus to be the founder of their city; and he indeed built it at the foot of mount Meros: from the name of which Mapos, femur, 'a thigh,' the Grecians feigned, that Bacchus was shut up in the thigh of Jupiter, because he was brought up on this mountain."-I love an author dearly who goes thorough stitch with his work, and does not stumble at straws. Arrian has touched this matter tenderly; and when he comes to confute it afterwards, chooses rather to do it in another's words than his own: but Curtius tells us, point-blank, it is every tittle true. To prove the truth thereof, we need only ask, whether this Bacchus. was an Eastern or Western deity? If he was an Indian god, how came he by his name? Dionysus and Bacchus are Greek names, and could never belong originally to a god of that country. If he was a Greek deity, how came he into India? no Gregian having ever travelled so far, before Alexander's time. Besides. how came he to be so well known there, and to conquer India alone, and never to be so much as heard of in all the countries through which he must have marched with his army, from Greece

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quered the Indians: but who this Bacchus was, and at what time or from whence he set forth against those Indians, is hard to determine. Whether he was that Theban, who from Thebes, or he who from Tmolus, a mountain of Lydia, undertook that famous expedition into India, and when he had passed through so many warlike nations, then unknown to the Greeks, reduced none of them all by force, but India, is very uncertain: only this I may venture to say, that those things which the ancients have published in their fables, concerning the gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into; for whenever the truth of any story seemed liable to be called in question, some god was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain, and easily swallowed. As soon as Alexander arrived at Nysa with his army, the citizens sent Aculphis, with thirty of their chief men, to him, to beseech him to leave the liberties of their city entire, for the sake of their god. The ambassadors being introduced into the royal pavilion, saw the king all besmeared with dust and sweat, sitin complete armour, for he had not yet put them off, his helmet was yet on his head, and his lance in his hand; at which sight they were dreadfully terrified, and falling prostrate, observed a long silence: but when Alexander condescended to bid them rise up, and be of good cheer, Aculphis * thus accosted

thither? The name Meros, which was given to the mountain, is likewise a Greek word; and Curtius is vastly mistaken in saying, the Greeks derived the fable of Bacchus's birth out of Jupiter's thigh from the name of that mountain, it being evident that the name of the mountain (if it ever had such a name, for Sidonius and Philostratus deny it) was contrived on purpose to quadrate with the known Greek fable of Bacchus the son of Semele; and the whole story was undoubtedly hatched by the lying Greeks, with no other view than only to set Alexander above Bacchus, as they had already done above Hercules.

*The speech of Aculphis here, has been contrived on purpose by the flatterers of Alexander. The forgery betrays itself at the first blush; and it were time ill-spent, to pretend to prove it not genuine. Besides, this has been already done in the Criti-

cism prefixed to this work.

him: "The Nysæans entreat thee, O king, for the reverence thou bearest to Dionysus, their god, to leave their city untouched, and not to infringe their customs and liberties. For Bacchus having subdued the Indians, and determining to return to Greece, as an eternal monument of the toils he underwent and the victories he acquired, built this city for a habitation for such of his soldiers as age or accidents had rendered unfit for further military service, in the same manner as thou hast raised Alexandria nigh Mount Caucasus, and another city of the same name in Ægypt, besides others which thou hast and wilt hereafter build in different parts of the earth, to the glory of thy name; for thou hast already achieved higher and greater things than Bacchus. He called this city Nysa, after the name of his nurse, and the province depending thereupon, the Nysman territories. The mountain also which is so near us, he would have denominated Meros, or the thigh, alluding to (the fable of) his birth from that of Jupiter. From that time, we, the inhabitants of Nysa, have been a free people, and lived peaceably under the protection of our own laws. And as an undoubted token that this place was founded by Bacchus, the ivy, which is to be found no where else throughout all India, flourishes in our territories."

CHAPTER II.

This oration * was very grateful to Alexander, who had a mighty mind that the story of Bacchus and his travels should pass for truth, and that he might be deemed the founder of Nysa, that himself might be

^{*} There is no room to doubt but a speech like that must be grateful to him; for he was either the contriver of it himself, or it was done for his sake; and what privileges the citizens had given them afterwards, were granted, that his followers might believe the truth of what his flatterers had asserted.

believed already to have reached the utmost limits of Bacchus's journey, and yet still to be advancing forwards. And he imagined that the Macedonians would be easily persuaded to join with him herein, and boldly undertake fresh adventures, after the laudable example of Bacchus and his followers; for which reason he granted the citizens of Nysa the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws, and a full confirmation of their liberties. And when he came afterwards to know the tenor of their laws, and that their republic was governed by the chief citizens, he commended the institution, and ordered that three hundred choice horse should be sent him, besides one hundred of those principal citizens who had the administration of affairs in their hands (their whole number being three hundred); Aculphis himself was one of those who were chosen out of the magistracy, and him he appointed president of the province.* · At these demands of Alexander, Aculphis is said to have smiled; and being asked the reason, made this answer: "After what manner, O king, should a city be afterwards well governed, when she is deprived of a hundred of her chief counsellors? If thou hast the welfare of the Nysæans at heart, take three hundred horse, or more, if it be thy pleasure; but if for one hundred of the best citizens, thou wilt condescend to accept of two hundred of the worst, thou mayst, at thy return hither, expect to find this city in a flourishing condition." This speech being excellently adapted for the purpose, satisfied Alexander; insomuch that he ordered the three hundred horse to be sent him, but freely gave up his former demand of the hundred magistrates, without requiring any equi-

^{*} At the same time that Alexander was commending their laws and constitutions, and pretending to leave them uninfringed, he was breaking-in upon them himself, as fast as he could. If he assumed any authority over them, it was a breach of their ancient privileges. If not, why did he impose Aculphis as chief over the province, when the city, with its dependencies, was, before that time, governed by a council of three hundred?

However, Aculphis sent his son and his nephew with him, to learn the art of war. der* had then an ambition of visiting the place where the Nysmans boast of some monuments of Bacchus. and of ascending Mount Meros, with his auxiliary horse and a squadron of his foot, that he might see a hill overspread with laurel and ivy, and thick groves of all sorts of trees, well stocked with all kinds of The sight of ivy was pleasing to the wild beasts. Macedonians, they not having seen any in a long time (for no parts of India produce it, not even those where vines are common); wherefore they immediately applied themselves to making garlands, wherewith they crowned their heads, singing, and calling loud upon the god, not only by the name of Dionysus, but by all his other names. Alexander there offered sacrifices to Bacchus, and feasted with his friends: and some authors relate (if their relations deserve credit) that many Macedonians of the first rank,

* Curtius affirms, lib. viii. cap. 10, 7, " that Alexander besieged this place, and his soldiers felt such excessive cold weather during the siege thereof, as they had never felt before."-That was strange! They had been so cold before, if we will take his own word for it, (lib. vii. cap. 3, 13,) " that some lost the use of their hands, others of their feet; some were blinded, and others killed out-right."-But the strangest thing of all is, how those very soldiers could pretend to complain of such intense cold weather here, when they felt it so excessive hot in Sogdia, (lib. vii. cap. 5, 3,) " that their natural moisture was in a manner dried up; and the sand, by reason of the sun's lying continually upon it, scorched like fire itself."-Every body knows, and they could not be ignorant, that Alexander had been marching southward all the way from Sogdia: and how a place about the 34th or 35th degree of latitude should be so intensely cold, and another at least ten degrees further northward so excessive hot, I cannot easily determine. Some of my readers may perhaps make answer, that it might be summer when he was in Sogdia, and winter here. Whether it was summer when he was in Sogdia, is hardly worth disputing; but that it was summer now is evident, by the soldiers gathering vine-leaves, to make themselves garlands, as he tells us in the very same chapter, lib. viii. cap. 10, 15.—I am sure our European vines drop their leaves in the winter. Arrian talks nothing of vine-leaves, but only of ivy, the leaves of which may be had at any time of the year.

during the banquet, having their brows encircled with ivy, and seized with a sort of enthusiastic raptures, ran about with loud and long-continued acclamations of *Evoe* and *Bacche:** but these, and such like stories, I leave for every one to receive or reject, as he thinks convenient.

CHAPTER III.

ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenian reports, (but I cannot altogether agree with him therein,) that whatever honours were ascribed to that deity by the Macedonians, and whatever joyful acclamations were made, all was done for the sake of their king, to put him upon a level with these gods themselves. He also adds, that the Macedonians found a certain cave upon a mountain in the country of Paropamisus, which the inhabitants, by tradition (or rather themselves, to curry favour with their prince), affirmed to be that wherein Prometheus was formerly chained, and that an eagle usually came thither to prey upon his liver; but at last, Hercules passing through that country, slew the eagle, and released him from his imprisonment. He proceeds to tell us, that they transferred Mount Caucasus, in their speeches, from Pontus, to

* This Curtius affirms for certain truth; and not only so, but tells us, lib. viii. cap. 10, 18, " that they got drunk; and for his part, he wonders why the citizens did not fall upon them, when they were in such disorder."-He had before acquainted us, that the city was taken by a long siege. But he is therein contradicted by Arrian, who assures us, that some of the chief citizens went out to meet Alexander, and congratulate him; and if so, the Macedonians might get drunk freely, and fall asleep as safely as if they had been in their own country. Though, after all, Philostratus, lib. xi. cap. 4, denies that Alexander ascended this mountain, notwithstanding he vehemently desired it; for he says, "he was afraid, that if his soldiers once saw vines, which they had not seen for a great while, it would bring such a lively idea of their native country into their minds, that they would long to return home: and if they were once suffered to taste wine, it would be a difficult matter to persuade them to drink water again; for which reasons he encamped at the foot of the mountain, and refused to ascend."

the most easterly parts of the earth, and the country of Paropamis, us to India; and called Paropamisus, Caucasus, for no other reason but to enhance the glory of Alexander, who had now passed beyond it; and when they accidentally saw some oxen in that part of India, marked with a brand in the form of a club, they immediately concluded, from that circumstance, that Hercules had penetrated thus far. The same author asserts the like stories of Dionysus, which I shall omit, as hardly worth the relating. When Alexander arrived at the river Indus, he found the bridge fully perfected by Hephæstion, and two large vessels built with thirty oars, besides many more small ones. He also received the presents of Taxiles the Indian, being two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep, and thirty elephants;* seven hundred Indian horse were sent to his assistance by that prince, who also made him a surrender of his capital, the largest and most populous of all the cities between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander there sacrificed to the gods, after the custom of his country; and having exhibited gymnic and equestrian sports on the banks of that river, the entrails promised him a safe passage over. † The Indus

^{*} Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 12, that this Taxiles, or Omphis, presented Alexander with fifty-six elephants. Arrian has indeed acquainted us, that Taxiles promised him twenty-five elephants before (See book iv. cap. 22), and that they were for himself and neighbour princes; and now he tells us he presented him with thirty. Now, says Tellier, allowing these thirty to be for himself, and the twenty-five for the other princes, the number will be pretty near that in Curtius. What strange conjuring creatures these commentators are! But then if we deny his supposition, all is wrong, and Curtius and Arrian are irreconcileable.

[†] It was their best way. The priest or sacrificer could make them speak what he would; and the general, as has been already shown, could make the priest speak what he would; and therefore it is no wonder that the poor soldiers were gulled, when both gods and men conspired to carry on the cheat.

is the largest of all the rivers of Europe or Asia, except the Ganges, which is also in India: it receives its rise from the spirts of Mount Parapamisus, or Caucasus, and discharges its waters southwards, into the Indian Ocean. It has two mouths in a low marshy soil, like those five of the Ister; and it forms the figure of the Greek letter Δ (Delta), by its course through India, as the Nile does in his passage through Ægypt; which island is in the Indian language called Pattala.

CHAPTER IV.

THESE things I have written concerning the river Indus, of the truth of which I have no doubt: for not only Hydaspes and Acesines, but Hydraotes and Hyphasis are Indian rivers, and exceed all the other rivers of Asia in bigness; but they are as much less than Indus, as that river is less than Ganges. Ctesias indeed (if his authority could be depended upon) affirms, that Indus, where its channel is narrowest, is forty furlongs wide, and where it is broadest, about a hundred. Alexander passed over this river with his army about break of day, and entered India; concerning which, I have neither thought it convenient to stuff this History with an account of what laws they are governed by, nor what strange animals the country produces; neither how many kinds of fish, nor of what bigness, either Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or other rivers of India nourish; nor shall I make a long detail of the ants which are here said to dig up gold; nor of the griffins which guard it; nor of many other things which are written chiefly to amuse, and seem to have little foundation of truth. But let the writers of the Indian affairs impose never so gross falsehoods upon us, they imagine we will swallow them all, rather than take a journey so far,

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to prove them liars. However, Alexander * and his. followers found out the falsity of their assertions, in abundance of instances; for those parts of India through which he penetrated with his army, were destitute of gold, and their diet was no ways delicate. But the inhabitants were strong built, and large limbed, and taller in stature than all the rest of the Asiatics, many of them being little less than five = 7's" cubits high. Their complexion is more swarthy than any yet known, except the Ethiopians; and their skill in military affairs far surpasses all the inhabitants of Asia besides. Even those warlike Persians, by whose valour Cyrus the son of Cambyses deprived the Medes of the empire of Asia, and brought many other nations under subjection, partly by force and partly by voluntary surrender, are by no means to be. compared with those Indians. For the Persians in these times were a poor people; their country was mountainous and uncultivated; and their laws and customs bore some resemblance to the severe Lacedæmonian discipline. And as to the overthrow they at last received in Seythia, I cannot certainly affirm, whether it happened on account of the disadvantage of their station, or any other oversight of Cyrus; or whether those Persians were really inferior in military affairs to the Scythians by whom they were defeated.

CHAPTER V.

I shall treat of the Indian affairs in a particular book; and not only relate every thing deserving credit, which happened to Alexander and his army, but also to Nearchus, who coasted along the Indian Ocean:—and lastly, I shall add the accounts of those remote parts, from Megasthenes and Eratosthenes,

^{*} This is most certainly true: but then they contrived as many lies as they confuted, and left theirs for after-ages to swallow.

two authors of undoubted veracity. I shall also there describe the laws and customs of India, what monstrous animals the country produces, and the whole coast of the sea beyond it, with the utmost accuracy. At present I shall only touch upon those things which were immediately achieved by Alexander and his army. Mount Taurus,* which extends itself in length throughout all Asia, has its beginning from Mycale, a hill opposite to the isle of Samos; afterwards, dividing Pamphylia and Cilicia, it runs into Armenia, and thence into Media, not far from the confines of the Parthians and Chorasmii; and in the country of Bactria joins to Mount Paropamisus, which the Macedonians who accompanied Alexander named Caucasus,† with a design (as it is reported) of enhancing

^{*} Curtius is undoubtedly mistaken in his description of this mountain, as well as Caucasus. He says, lib. vii. cap. 3, 19, "that Alexander's soldiers came to Mount Caucasus, whose high back divides Asia, by one continued ridge."-If this be understood of Parapamisus, or the Indian Caucasus, the description is false; for it does not divide Asia. And if it be to be understood of the Pontic, or true Caucasus, it is also false; for Alexander was not then near it .- Then he proceeds; "Taurus is the next in bigness, and joins to Caucasus; it rises in Cappadocia, passes by Cilicia, and joins with the mountains of Armenia. From those mountains almost all the rivers of Asia flow: some into the Red Sea; some into the Caspian; others into the Hyrcanian and Pontic Ocean."-Strabo and Dionysius assure us, that Taurus rises between Lycia and Caria, on the continent opposite to the isle of Rhodes. Ptolemy, on the coast of Pamphylia, near Phaselis. Mela, at Sides, a village in Pamphylia, over-against Cilicia; and nobody but Curtius talks of its rise in Cappadocia. Then, as to the rivers, those which run into the Pontic Ocean cannot owe their rise to the Indian, but to the Scythian Caucasus. And whereas he intimates, that some rivers flow into the Caspian, and others into the Hyrcanian Sea, lib. vii. cap. 3, 21; he would have done well, had he shown us how far those two seas were distant from each other; all mankind, besides himself, owning them to be the same.

[†] Strabo, in the eleventh book of his Geography, p. 771, ed. Casaub. assures us, "that Alexander's followers transferred Mount Caucasus out of Scythia into India, which was above thirty thousand stadia (or 3750 English miles) distant from its true situation."—The same prank they also played with the river Jaxyr-

their general's glory; as though he had passed beyond that mountain, in one continued course of victory. It may perhaps be true, that this mountain may join with the other Caucasus in Scythia, as Taurus does with this; for which reason I have already called it by that name, and shall hereafter continue so to do. This mountain reaches eastward as far as the Indian Ocean. All the most famous rivers in Asia owe their rise to Mount Taurus and Caucasus; and many of them flow northward; some into the Palus Meotis; some into the Hyrcanian Sea: others direct their course southerly, namely, Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, Hyphasis, and all those which discharge their waters into the ocean on this side the Ganges; or which lose themselves by some secret and subterraneous passage; or among the marshes, like the Euphrates.

tus, which they called Tanais.—This confusion of the names of mountains and rivers, was the occasion of an infinite number of errors in geography afterwards, the writers ascribing those things to one mountain or river, which were really applicable to another. Thus, what Curtius tells us of Alexander's march over Caucasus, the height of the rock, and the city Alexandria, appertain to the Indian Caucasus, or Parapamisus. But his stories of the river Araxes and Cilicia, and the mountains of Armenia; the Pontic Sea, the deserts of Scythia, and Prometheus being chained to a rock, belong properly to the Scythian, or ancient and true Caucasus.

* This must undoubtedly be meant of that mighty royal drain, or canal, called Pallocopas, which was cut to carry off the superfluous water of the river Euphrates, for fear it should overflow its banks, and drown the flat countries on each side. It either loses its waters in the marshes of Arabia, or enters the Arabian Gulf by some secret or subterraneous passage. But as to the Euphrates itself, or the main stream, Nearchus with his whole fleet entered the mouth thereof, when he sailed up to Babylon, to meet Alexander. See Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 19.

CHAPTER VI.

SEEING therefore the situation of Asia is such, that Taurus and Caucasus run through it, from west to east; it thence happens, that all Asia is divided by these mountains into two parts, one towards the south, the other northwards: moreover, that south part is also separated into four divisions, the chief of which is that of India, according to Eratosthenes and Megasthenes (who assures us, that while he entertained a converse with Sibyrtius governor of the Arachosii, he frequently visited Sandracottus* king of India); the least, is that which Euphrates divides, and which borders upon our sea. The other two lying between the rivers Indus and Euphrates, are scarce worthy to be compared to India, if they were joined together. India † is bounded on the east and south sides by the ocean; northwards by Mount Caucasus, even to the confines of Taurus; and westward, even to the ocean, by the river Indus. greatest part of this country is level and champaign.

* Strabo called him Sadracottus, though Causabon's edition agrees with Arrian, vid. p. 1035: some editions of Arrian, Sandracontus; and I am mistaken if Plutarch do not mean the same by

his Andracottus, p. 38. edit. Steph.

[†] Curtius, who is the blindest geographer that ever wrote, has given us the lamest description of India that ever was read. "India," says he, lib. viii. cap. 9, 1, "lies towards the east."—That it does, sure enough, and towards the west too, in respect to one place or another.—Then he proceeds—"Its breadth is less than its length."—Who doubts that? So is every country besides, if it be not a circle or a square.—"The southern parts thereof are high and mountainous, the others champaign, and watered by many rivers issuing from Mount Caucasus."—Now this is every tittle false; for the northern parts are mountainous, Parapamisus and Taurus being their north boundaries. But that the southern parts are at least lower, is apparent, because the rivers Indus, Aceşines, Hydaspes, &c. all direct their course that way.—He immediately after adds a mad description of Ganges, and a false one of Acesines, which I shall examine elsewhere.

which is occasioned chiefly (as some suppose) by the rivers there washing down quantities of mud during the time of their overflowings, in the same manner as it happens in other flat countries bordering upon the sea; insomuch that many of them have borrowed their very names from the rivers which pass through them: - as a certain district in Asia is called Campus Hermi, because the river Hermus, rising from Mount Dindymene, flows through it to Smyrna, a city of Æolia, and thence to the sea: Also Campus Caystri, from the river Cayster; Campus Lydius, from the river Lydus; Campus Caici, from the river Caicus; Campus Mæandri, in Caria, near Miletus, a city of Ionia, so called from the river Mæander. Ægypt also, according to Herodotus and Heccatæus (unless these accounts of that country belong to any other author besides Heccatæus), has been the gift of the river, and which Herodotus in particular proves; insomuch that the whole country has received its name from the river. For that this river was anciently called Ægyptus, which all nations now call the Nile, the authority of Homer is sufficient to prove; who says, that Menelaus drew up his fleet at the mouth of the river Ægyptus. If therefore single rivers, and those none of the largest, have that faculty of fructifying the lower grounds near the sea, through which they pass, by the slime and mud which they bring down from the higher country; I can see no reason why those Indian streams should not do the like, seeing the greatest part of the country is champaign, and the rivers there have their annual inundations. For * if Hermus, and Cayster, and Caicus, and Mæander, and all the rivers of Asia, which discharge themselves into the midland sea, were put together, they would not be comparable,

^{*} The greatest part of the contents of this chapter may be seen almost word for word in Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1013, &c. whereby it is evident that Strabo and Arrian copied from the same authors.

for equality of water, to one of those Indian rivers, much less to Indus; to which neither the Ægyptian Nile nor the Europæan Ister can stand in competition; and all these, and Indus together, would not be equal to Ganges; which being from its very fountains a great river, receives the waters of fifteen of the largest in Asia, and retains its name till it falls into the sea. This, at present, shall suffice concerning India: the rest shall be mentioned in our Indian History.

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER what manner Alexander made his bridge over the river Indus, neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus (authors of greatest esteem with me) give any account: nor can I, at this distance of time, affirm for certain, whether it was made with ships fastened together, like that of Xerxes over the Hellespont, and those across the Bosphorus and the Ister by Darius; or whether it was one continued piece of work, resting upon piles driven into the bottom of the river. To me, it seems much more probable to have been composed with vessels* close bound together. Not that I imagine the extraordinary depth of the river would not admit of one of the other sort; but because so great a work could never have been brought to perfection in so short a time. But supposing it to have been built with ships; whether they

^{*} Curtius, according to his usual manner of vouching every thing he says for truth, tells us, lib. viii. cap. 10, 2, " that Alexander dispatched Hephæstion and Perdiccas with a detachment as far as Indus, to build a bridge of boats to pass the army over."—Had Arrian ever peeped into his Work, he would either have rested satisfied with his assertions, or contradicted him. Strabo tells us too that a bridge was built, but not how or of what materials: However he assures us, lib. vi. p. 1022, that it was night the city Peucolaetis.

were fastened to each other with cables, and so drawn quite across the stream, as Herodotus assures us that of Xerxes was, or in the same manner as the Romans made theirs over the Rhine and Ister, and over the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as necessity required, it is impossible certainly to determine. However, the manner of laying bridges with ships over large rivers, used by the Romans, is certainly the most safe and expeditious; and, as being worthy notice, I shall here describe it. The vessels appointed for that use are launched into the river, on a signal given, and the violence of the current, as it is reasonable to imagine, hurries them downwards; but that being overcome by the labour of the rowers, they are brought at last to the place assigned, with their heads turned up the stream: then, huge wicker baskets, filled with stones, and let down from the prows of each of them, keep them steady, notwithstanding the strength of the current. As soon as one of these vessels is thus fixed, they place a second at a convenient distance from her, in the same manner; then they lay large beams from one to the other. which they cover with planks laid across, and this perfects that part of the work. Thus they proceed with all the rest of the vessels, how-many-soever they have occasion to use: and then, at each end, are placed a range of steps joining it to the shore, that horses and all beasts of burthen may the more safely enter thereupon, and the more easily pass over. And these serve also as a security to the whole, by joining it to the banks on each side. After this manner the work is soon perfected: and notwithstanding the multitude of hands employed on such a fabric, no order nor decorum is wanting; for the exhortation of the overseers to some to perform their duty, and their threats to others for neglect thereof, are no manner of hindrance either to their receiving orders, or the quick execution of the whole work.

CHAPTER VIII.

These sort of bridges were in most request among the old Romans. But after what manner this was laid over the river Indus is hard to determine, seeing none * of all those who went upon that expedition make any mention thereof: nevertheless I cannot forbear thinking it was framed much according to the description here given; or if any will be pleased to give us a better, I shall submit to his judgment. Alexander having gained the other side, again offered sacrifices to the gods, according to the custom of his country; and marching forwards, arrived at Taxila, a large wealthy city, and the most populous between Indus and Hydaspes. Taxiles prince of the place, and the Indian inhabitants thereof, received him in a friendly manner; and he, in return, added as much of the adjacent country † to their territories, as they requested. Thither came ambassadors to him from Ambisarus king of the Indian mountaineers, with his brother, and some of

* I wonder how Curtius came by his account. Arrian could only speak here of those he had seen or heard. And if Curtius had not played us so many slippery tricks before, I could be almost

tempted to believe him in this place.

[†] Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 12, 16, "that he gave him one thousand talents of silver, with many cups and goblets of gold, besides rich Persian habits, and thirty horses, with the same furniture as those he rode upon."—The truth is, he got them easily enough, and might afford to part with them as easily. But I am rather inclined to give credit to Arrian, who says "he made him a present of part of his neighbours' territories."—This he might do still easier than the other, for he had not yet conquered them, and so they could cost him nothing. Strabo only assures us, lib. xv. p. 1022, that the inhabitants of that country, with Taxiles their king, entertained Alexander kindly, and on that account received more from him than they presented him with; insomuch that the Macedonians were displeased, and said "that Alexander could find none worthy of a present before he passed the Indus." See also Plutarch. de vitâ Alex. p. 36 and 37, ed. Steph.

his nobles; as also others from Doxareus, a prince of that country, with presents. Alexander again sacrificed in Taxila, and exhibited sports according to custom; and having made Philip, the son of Machetas, governor of the province, and placed a garrison in the city, he left his sick men there for the recovery of their health, and moved on towards the river Hydaspes, because he had received notice* that Porus with all his army lay encamped on the other side of that river, being fully resolved, either to intercept his passage over, or to attack him upon his landing on that side. Alexander, upon this, dispatched Cænus the son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, to cause those vessels wherewith they passed that river to be taken in pieces, and conveyed to the Hydaspes. This was accordingly performed, the lesser vessels being divided into two parts, and those of thirty oars into three. The parts were conveyed on carriages to the banks of Hydaspes, and there joined together again, and launched into the river. He in the mean time, with the forces which he had brought from Taxila, and five thousand Indians under the command of Taxiles and the other princes of that country, marched forwards, and encamped upon the banks of that river.

^{*} If we durst venture to believe Curtius, all scruples relating to this affair might easily be removed. He tells us, lib. viii. cap. 13, 2, "that Alexander dispatched one Clochares to Porus, who should summon him to pay him tribute, and to meet him on the confines of his kingdom." But Porus returned answer, "That he designed indeed to meet him on his borders, but it should be in arms."—It is great pity that most of his vouchers are lost: it gives ill-disposed people a vast liberty of judging that he contrived many of them himself. He has taken no notice of the contents of the remaining part of this chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

Porus * lay encamped on the opposite side with his whole army, surrounded by his elephants; who, whithersoever he perceived Alexander's navy move. immediately prepared to defend the passage; and detached parties to all the places where he knew the river was fordable, and appointed captains over each. to obstruct the Macedonians if they should attempt to cross the river. Alexander perceiving this, resolved to divide his army, in the same manner, into several small parties, to distract Porus in his resolutions, and render his efforts fruitless: which being accordingly performed, and the several parties dispatched several ways, some were ordered to lay the country waste in a hostile manner, others to seek out a place where the river might be easily passed He also commanded vast stores of corn to be brought into his camp from all the country on this side Hydaspes, that Porus might imagine he would remain in his present encampment till the waters of

* The author of that treatise concerning rivers, which is falsely ascribed to Plutarch, tells us a very merry story of a mountain which was named The Elephant upon this occasion. "When Alexander," says he, " had entered India in a hostile manner, the inhabitants were resolved to meet him with an army: but the elephant of Porus king of that country, being all on a sudden seized with an enthusiastic rapture, ascended the mountain sacred to the sun, where he cried out in articulate words, with a human voice, 'O king, who derivest thy pedigree from Gegasius, forbear to attempt any thing against Alexander, for he is a son of Jove." -As true a son of Jove, in all probability, as the other was of Gegasius; for if Freinshemius in his Comment to Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2, 6, ed. varior. may be credited, Porus's real father was no more than a barber.—However, he goes on to acquaint us, that "when the elephant had thus spoke, he died. Porus hearing this, came trembling to Alexander, and falling at his feet sued for peace, which having obtained, he called the mountain The Elephant, in memory of the beast."—Here is a noble speech: Balaam's ass spoke like an ass indeed, in comparison to this elephant. See Raderus's Comm. on Curt, lib. viii. cap. 13, 8.

the river* fell away in the winter season, for then he might force his way over with his army in spite of all opposition. His ships being therefore drawn this way and that, and the coverings of his tents stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank thoroughly lined with horse and foot, he suffered Porus to take no rest, and rendered him thereby wholly incapable of discerning where the storm would fall, or how best to prepare for the safety of himself and his army. About that time of the year (for it was then nigh the summer solstice) all the rivers of India are full of water, and consequently muddy and rapid, for heavy and frequent rains then fall throughout all the country; and besides, the snow upon Mount Caucasus (from whence most of them have their rise) melting with heat, their streams are thereby exceedingly augmented: but the snow again congealing in winter, and the rains ceasing, the rivers become clearer and shallower, insomuch that all of them are fordable in some place or other, except the

* Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 13, 8, that this river was full four furlongs in breadth; and then adds, "that the dreadful appearance of the enemy on the opposite bank struck a terror into the Macedonians."-I can hardly believe, had they been so much frighted, that they would have ventured over the river so soon, in spite of all that dreadful sight on the opposite shore. But perhaps their fear might make their enemies' numbers seem larger than they were: However, after all, the Macedonians must have sharp eyes to discern the bulk of the elephants so perfectly across a river half an English mile wide. Nay, by a stratagem which Alexander afterwards made use of, in adorning Attalus (who Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 13, 21, had some resemblance of him) in royal robes, and placing his guards round him, to make the enemy on the other side believe the king still there, the Indians should seem to be more quick-sighted by half than the Macedonians; for it is easier to discern the body of an elephant than a man, and easier still to form a judgment of the bulk of a man's body than the features of his face or the fashion of his clothes at four furlongs' distance. But the mischief is, Attalus was posted nine miles off, so that this last story is false, and so, no doubt, is the first too.

Indus and Ganges, and perhaps one more; however, the Hydaspes may be certainly passed over by fords.*

CHAPTER X.

ALEXANDER therefore caused a report to be spread abroad, that he would tarry till that time of the year, and then attempt to force his passage over; nevertheless he caused a strict watch to be kept throughout his camp, to try if by any means he could pass over secretly, and unobserved by the enemy. But he despaired of gaining his ends in that part where Porus

• We have no satisfactory description of this river in Curtius, though it was so very necessary. He only tells us, lib. viii. cap. 13, 8, " that it was four furlongs broad, and withal very deep, as plainly appeared by the unevenness of the current."-Yet he has not got above a dozen lines further; but he forgets what he has said before; and assures us, cap. 13, 12, that "in the middle of the river were many islands, into which as well the Macedonians as Indians, carrying their arms upon their heads, swam over: There they skirmished, and each king, by that epitome as it were, judged what event the battle was like to have." This story is spun out half a page further, but as no author, so far as I can find, takes notice of it but himself, I think I may very safely pronounce it a romance: for if the surface of the water was rough and the bottom rocky, it was unsafe, if not impossible, for them to swim backward and forward. These islands must be somewhere towards the middle of the river, because the Macedonians swam to them on one side and the Indians on the other, when they met and fought their sham fights. Now if small parties of the Macedonians could do this, why might not the whole army have ventured over the same way? But that none could, is evident from Arrian, who assures us, "that at that time, being the summer solstice, by reason of the heavy rains and the melting of the snow on the mountains, from which these rivers derive their sources, their channels are not only full of water, but the current strong and rapid." Strabo, lib. xv. and Plutarch, p. 37, agree with Arrian in this story. Besides, for Curtius to talk of two kings standing to observe those small parties skirmishing in the middle of the river, is idle and trifling; they were otherwise employed, one in harassing his enemy with false alarms, and the other in observing his motions.

lay encamped, as well because of the multitude of his elephants, as of his huge army, well accoutred and excellently disciplined, which was in readiness to fall upon them the moment they came out of the river: besides which, his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants, which would meet them, and fright them exceedingly, both with their unusual noise and aspect: and he was in some doubt whether they could possibly be kept upon the hides, and so be conveyed across the river; because the moment they happened to espy the elephants upon the banks before them, they would be seized with fear, and leap into the water. He therefore resolved to endeavour to gain the other side by stealth, and accordingly thus ordered the matter: His horse being detached to several parts of the bank by night, he ordered loud shouts to be made, an alarm to be sounded, and all things in appearance to be prepared for a speedy passage over; upon which a mighty noise was heard from every quarter. Porus, on the opposite side, conveyed his elephants wheresoever he perceived the noise * of the Macedonians called him; and Alexander, according to his custom, stood to watch his motions. But when this had continued for several nights, and nothing was attempted, nor any thing happened besides noise, Porus began to desist from his strict observation of the horse, and growing regardless of their din, moved not from the place of his encampment; only he took care to place guards on the several parts of the bank.

^{*} Curtius must be mistaken in saying, lib. viii. cap. 13, 11, "that the Indians caused their beasts to make a dreadful noise on purpose to scare the Macedonians."—It is agreed by all authors, that the Macedonians made a terrible noise on purpose to amuse the Indians: Now if both armies made a noise together, on different views, I wonder who was likely to gain their ends first. It was certainly Porus's business to be still and quiet, that they might the better judge of the noise which their enemies made, and ward off the blow wherever it should fall.

Alexander therefore, as soon as he knew that Porus thought himself sufficiently safe from these nightly excursions, ordered his affairs after this manner.

CHAPTER XI.

THERE was a rock fitly seated on the bank of the river, where the channel takes a mighty sweep, stored

* The passage over this river is described by Curtius (as almost every thing else is) lamely and imperfectly. "There was an island in the river," he says, lib. viii cap. 13, 17, "somewhat larger than the rest:" It is plain the rest of his islands were pretty near the middle of the river, between the two encampments; and who would imagine, by this description, but this was thereabouts too? I can assure my readers it was far from that place, being no less than one hundred and fifty stadia (almost nineteen miles) up the stream.-Well, he goes on, " and a large ditch not far from the shore, which they imagined not only sufficient to hide foot, but horse."-Whereabouts on the bank this ditch was, he tells us not; however, it is plain it must be over-against the island which he has pointed out, as lying directly between the two encampments; for he adds, " that Alexander might deceive the watchfulness of his enemies, he ordered Ptolemy and all his cavalry to ride a good distance from the island, and alarm the Indians with a noise, as if he intended then to pass the river. This he did for many days together, and made Porus and his army draw up just opposite to the place where they expected he would come over."—So that Ptolemy and his party are a vast way up or down the river, and Porus and his forces have moved their encampment, leaving Alexander and the bulk of the Macedonians over-against the island. That this is a fair representation of the case, I appeal to any unbiassed reader; and that it is every tittle false, we have Ptolemy's own word for it, from whose Memoirs Arrian has copied the best part of his History. The story is thus: Alexander having observed a woody island nineteen miles up the stream, with a rock or high point of land over-against it, which Curtius calls a ditch, resolved to ferry over there with part of his army, and accordingly ordered Craterus to continue with some forces in their first encampment. . About nine miles up the river he posted Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with some choice troops, and about nine or ten miles further still was the rock, behind which he with the forces which he had with him were making preparations for ferrying over. The Indians continued all this while in their first encampment; and if Porus observed any body's

with trees of various kinds: over-against this rock, at a small distance, was an island in the river, overrun with woods, and uninhabited, and consequently fit for his purpose: therefore, considering that his horse as well as his foot might reach that place in safety, and there lie concealed, he resolved to ferry over. That rock and island were distant from the body of his camp about one hundred and fifty stadia. therefore placed guards all along the bank, at such a distance as they could easily perceive each other, and receive and convey commands. He had also ordered great cries to be made, and fires to be lighted up throughout the camp, for many nights together; and even when he designed to pass the river, he did not make preparations secretly in tents, but openly. Having therefore left Craterus there with his own troop of horse, to which those of the Aracoti and Parapamisæ were joined, besides the Macedonian phalanx, Alcetas's, and Polyperchon's forces, and the princes of that country with the five thousand Indians: he gave him strict orders not to attempt to pass the river before he observed Porus on the other side, either coming against them, or flying from the field. "If Porus," says he, " should go out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part with the elephants in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then haste over the river with your whole force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses."

motions, it must be those of Craterus, who was over-against him; for Ptolemy assures us that he was nineteen miles off, along with Alexander; and we may see, in the next chapter, that he ferried over the river along with him in the same vessel.

CHAPTER XII.

THESE commands were given to Craterus; but in the middle space, at about an equal distance between the rock and the main camp, where Craterus lay, he posted Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with the troops of mercenary horse and foot, giving them orders that they should divide their forces, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, immediately ferry over. He, with the auxiliary horse, as also those of Hephæstion, Perdiccas, and Demetrius; the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Scythians; the Dam, equestrian archers, some choice targeteers, the troops of Clitus and Cænus, with the archers and Agrians, marched forwards at some distance from the bank, lest the enemy should discern that he was hasting towards the rock and island where he designed to ferry over. Then having long before furnished himself with hides, he filled them by night with light matter, and stitched them up close; and a great rain* happening to fall that night, was the reason why all their preparations for ferrying over passed

^{*} Curtius has obliged us first with a tempest, lib. viii, cap. 13, 22, "which happened," as he says, "when Alexander was ready to pass over the river."—Then, about half a dozen lines after, his tempest dwindles into a shower; but so violent, "that the soldiers were forced to run out of their ships to land."-Well, the shower it seems was too sharp to last long, for he immediately adds, "that it grew fair, but so thick a fog succeeded, that it obscured the day, so that they could scarce see one another's faces while they were talking together; such a darkness overspread the earth as would have terrified any other."-Well, any reader, by his description, would suppose it was day all this while, however dark and dismal. But Plutarch, whose credit outweighs his, assures us, from Alexander's own letters, p. 37, "that it was a cold dark night."-So that the tempest, and shower, and fog, and darkness happening all in the night, it was no great wonder if they were so much at a loss for a sight of one another's faces; but, in short, he seems every where to grope so much in the dark, that he has scarce one page throughout his whole work free from error or inconsistency.

undiscovered; the noise of the storm, with the violence of the thunder and lightning, hindered the clashing of their armour and the voices of the commanding officers from being heard. Many of the vessels which had been before taken to pieces, were conveyed hither, and put together again in the wood, unperceived by the enemy; and among the rest, those of thirty oars. The winds then being hushed, and the rain ceasing a little before day-light, as many of his foot and horse, as both the hides and ships could carry, passed secretly over into the island, that they might not be discovered by the guards, which Porus had placed upon the bank, before they had passed through the island, and were even ready to ascend the bank itself.

CHAPTER XIII.

ALEXANDER himself followed in a vessel of thirty oars, and with him were Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lysimachus, three of his body-guards, besides Seleucus, one of his favourites, who reigned as king after him, and half of the targeteers; the rest were conveved over in other vessels of the same burthen. soon as the army had passed through the island, they approached the bank, in sight of the enemy's outguards, who rode away with all imaginable expedition to carry the news to Porus. In the mean while Alexander, who first ascended the bank, took care to draw up those who ferried over in vessels, and the horse which came with them, and to march before them in order of battle. But by their want of knowledge in the country, they happened to enter into a dangerous and unsafe place: it was another island,* much lar-

^{*} No manner of notice is taken of this in Curtius; but Plutarch assures us, p. 37, "that the Hydaspes was swoln so high with the storm, that it had made a breach in the bank, which they passed in their armour, up to the breast in water."

ger than the former, which seemed otherwise to them. because a small stream disjoined it from the continent. But it fell out that the rain the night before had swelled it so prodigiously that the horsemen could not find a place to ford over, and were even afraid that this passage might prove as troublesome as the former: however, at last they found a fordable place, and passed through with some difficulty; for the water where the channel was deepest reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers and to the necks of the horses. When they had also conquered this, he placed a squadron of horse on the right wing, of the best and choicest he could find, and disposed the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry: the royal targeteers, under the command of Seleucus, were placed in the foremost rank of foot, and mixed amongst the horse; next those stood the royal cohort, then the other companies of targeteers, in their several orders; and on each side of the phalanx he posted the darters, archers, and Agrians.

CHAPTER XIV.

His army thus modelled, he commanded his foot, who were in number about six thousand, to follow him leisurely and in order; and inasmuch as he appeared to be superior to his enemies in cavalry, he took only five thousand horse, and with those marched swiftly forwards. Tauro, the captain of his archers, was ordered speedily to join him with his men; for he easily imagined, that if Porus advanced against him with his whole force, he would either be able to defeat them by the strength of his horse, or at least to put them to a stand till his foot came up. But if the Indians should be seized with a consternation at his unexpected arrival on that side of the river, and turn their backs, he would be at hand to pursue them; and the greater slaughter there

was then made, the less would be their obstinacy in resistance elsewhere. Aristobulus affirms, that Porus's son* arrived on the banks of the river with sixty chariots, before Alexander had conveyed his forces out of the greater island, and that he might easily have obstructed their passage over, if the Indians, his companions, had all of them leaped out of their chariots, and boldly attacked the first they met as they came out of the water, (for they gained the other side with difficulty enough, though none opposed them,) but they passed by, and left him to come over unmolested: immediately after which, he dispatched his equestrian archers against them, who put them to flight, and slew many of them. Other authors relate, that the Indians who accompanied Porus's son attacked Alexander and his body of horse, as soon as they set foot upon the bank; and as he had the greatest part of the forces with him. Alexander himself there received a wound. and his horse Bucephalus, which he exceedingly prized, was slain by Porus's son. But Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with much more probability, tells the story otherwise: for he writes, that as soon as Porus had information by his out-guards that either Alexander himself, or at least part of his army, were passing over the river, he dispatched his son to hinder them, but not with so small a number of chariots as sixty, that being very unreasonable to imagine; for if such a number was sent as scouts to discover the enemy's strength, they were too many and too ill accommodated for that purpose; if to obstruct their passage, or attack them after their arrival on shore, they were too few. But the truth is, Ptolemy assures us they were no fewer than two thousand horse and one hundred

^{*}Arrian has given us no fewer than three relations of this affair; the most probable of which is that of Ptolemy, who was an eye-witness thereof. However, in spite of all, Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 14, 2, will have it, that it was not Porus's son, but his brother, whom he calls Hages; and Polyænus tells us, it was a nephew of his, named Pittacus.

and twenty chariots;* but before they could reach the place, Alexander had passed the ford, and came safe out of the last island.

CHAPTER XV.

THE same author also tells us, that Alexander at first dispatched his equestrian archers against them, but that himself headed the horse, imagining that Porus with all his forces was at hand; for the cavalry marched forward in the front, before the rest of the army: but when he had certain intelligence by his spies of the numbers of the Indians, then he attacked them furiously with the horse which were about him, and put them to flight; for they fought not in a complete, firm, and regular body, but by troops. Four hundred of the Indian horse were there slain, and among them Porus's son; and most of their chariots with their horses were taken, they being heavy and troublesome in flight, and even in the battle (by reason of the slippery soil of the place) altogether unserviceable. As soon as the horse who had escaped from this conflict arrived at their main body, and gave Porus † notice that Alexander was already pass-

* Authors differ strangely about the number of forces which Porus's son had with him. Plutarch, p. 37, edit. Steph. says, they were one thousand horse and sixty armed chariots. Curtius, lib. viii, cap. 14, 2, three thousand horse and one hundred armed chariots: and Ptolemy in Arrian, two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. Arrian assures us, that Porus had two sons slain in this battle; and Diodorus agrees with him: so that Philostratus is in an error when he affirms, lib. 2, cap. 10, that Porus at the time of his fighting with Alexander was but a youth.

† Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 14, 9, "that some of the charioteers with their chariots escaped out of this skirmish, and got safe to Porus, who was then valiantly fighting."—Yet after this, we find him marshalling his army and preparing for battle. Alexander was not yet come near him: Craterus with his forces were on the other side of the river, and the party posted in the middle space, between the encampment and the rock, viz. Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with their troops, kept their station; so that if Porus was fighting at that time, it must be with windmills or imaginary enemies, for he was yet at too great a distance from his real ones to come to blows.

ed over the river with the greatest part of his army, and that his son was slain in battle; he was so much moved, that he knew not what course to take, especially because the forces which were posted overagainst his grand camp, and commanded by Craterus, were also endeavouring to pass the river: however, at last he resolved to march against Alexander and attack the Macedonians, as the strongest body; and at the same time to leave a part of the army and some elephants behind in the camp, to fright Craterus's horse as they approached the bank of the river. He * therefore, with his whole body of horse, which were about four thousand, and three hundred chariots, with two hundred elephants, and near thirty thousand foot, marched forwards; and when he came to a plain, where the soil was not incommodious by reason of the slippery clay, but firm and sandy, and every way fit for wheeling his chariots round upon, he resolved there to draw up his army, which he did in the following manner: First he placed the elephants in the

^{*} The disposition of battles in Curtius is every where so trifling, that I shall not give myself nor my reader any trouble upon that head, but refer him to the work itself, which he may compare with Arrian; only I cannot forbear taking notice of one thing very remarkable here. He tells us, lib. viii. cap. 14, 11, "that in the front of the Indian foot the statue of Hercules was carried, which was a great encouragement to the soldiers, and it was deemed a capital crime to desert it. Thus had the fear of Hercules, once their enemy, created in them a religious veneration for his memory."-Who knows not, that the whole story of Hercules's expedition into India, and his conquest thereof, was no more than a fable? and whoever desires to hear it confuted, needs only have recourse to Arrian, lib. iv. in his story of the rock Aornus; and to Strabo, lib. xv. Curtius immediately after this, lib. viii. cap. 14, 13, proceeds to acquaint us, " that the prodigious height of the beast which carried Porus, seemed to add to the bulk of his body."—This is the strangest paradox I ever heard, and directly contrary to the rules of perspective. Shall Porus seem taller the higher he is mounted? What a mighty monster, at that rate, would a man upon the Monument appear to the people upon Fish-street-hill? But no more needs be added to prove the falsity of that assertion.

front, at the distance of one hundred foot from each other, to cover the whole body of foot, and at the same time to strike a terror into Alexander's horse: for he imagined that none, either horse or foot, would be so hardy as to endeavour to penetrate through the spaces between the elephants: the horsemen, he thought, could not, because their horses would be terrified at the sight, and the foot would not dare, because the armed soldiers would be ready to gall them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot possessed the next rank: they were not indeed placed in the same order with the elephants, but so small a way behind, that they seemed to fill up the interspaces. At the extremities of each wing he placed elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, wherein were armed men: the foot were defended on each hand by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were placed before them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Porus's army stood ranged thus: but as soon as Alexander saw the Indians drawn up in order of battle, he commanded his horse to halt till the foot could come up; and even when the body of foot had by degrees joined with the rest of the forces, he would not proceed immediately to marshalling them, lest he should expose them, breathless and weary with a long march, to the fury of the fresh Barbarians; but surrounding them with his horse, he gave them time to take breath and recover their spirits: then, viewing the disposition of the enemy's troops, he came to a resolution not to make his first attack in front, (where the greatest part of the elephants were posted, and the ranks of foot were much thicker in the intermediate spaces,) for the same fears which induced Porus to range that part of the army thus, hindered Alexander from attacking them there first. But knowing himself to be much superior to the Indians in horse, he, with the best part of them, moved towards Porus's left wing, resolving to break in upon that quarter; and dispatched Cænus with his own and Demetrius's troops to the right, with orders that when he perceived the Barbarians turn their horse to resist the fury of his attack, he should fall upon their rear. The phalanx of foot he ordered to be led on by Seleucus,*

* I designed not to meddle with the manner of the disposition of this army according to Curtius; but he is so inconsistent with himself, that it is impossible to pass him by. Freinshemius has been endeavouring to lick the bear's cub into a little better form, and has accordingly made bold to alter the original in several places, in spite of all manuscript copies; but he has been striving to wash a blackamore white; for many gross errors will still remain, when he and all the world have done their utmost. As for example: He tells us first, lib. viii. cap. 14, 13, " that the beasts or elephants, ranged among the men, appeared like towers."—This Arrian, with good reason, contradicts, and affirms that all the soldiers were ranged behind the elephants; and Curtius himself had said so too but ten lines before, lib. viii. cap. 14, 10: but his wit was prejudicial to his memory, and truth was not his talent. Then he makes Alexander, in a speech to his officers, tell Cænus, cap. 14, 15, " When I, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Hephæstion, make an attack upon their left wing, and you see me close engaged, do you dextrum move."-Now I would ask any mortal what he can mean by his dextrum move? If he means, as the words import, move the right wing; pray what right wing had he to move? The Macedonian right wing he could not, Alexander commanded there; and the Indians he must not, he was an enemy to them. Some of his commentators have been dabbling with him here, and have altered the text to in dextrum move. But move was never used in that sense by any author ancient or modern. However, if we should grant that this might be wrested to common sense, his next assertion never will; and that is no more than six lines further; for there he tells us, cap. 14, 17, that "Cænus bravely assailed the left wing."—All the world must allow this an error and a contradiction. However, Raderus tells you very modestly, 'This is indeed contrary to Arrian, and also to common sense; but all will be well, if instead of left wing you read right wing; and Curtius, whether he wrote so or no, ought to have wrote so.' Curtius next proceeds to acquaint us, cap. 14, 18, that " Porus strove to oppose his elephants against the enemy's horse."—That must be false, for the Macedonian phalanx was posted in the main body over-against them, and they could not move. Arrian indeed assures us, that the governors of Antigonus, and Tauro, and commanded them not to engage before they saw the enemy's horse and foot in disorder by his and Cænus's attacks. But when they came within the reach of their missive weapons, they should immediately dispatch about a thousand archers against the enemy's left wing, that by the violence of those and the irruption of the horse, that part of the army might be put into disorder: He, with his auxiliary horse, flew swiftly to the left wing, with design to engage them warmly before they could recover themselves from the confusion which his archers must necessarily bring them into.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Indians, perceiving themselves environed on all hands, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander; when immediately Cænus with his forces, as he had been ordered, fell upon them in flank, which caused them to divide their forces into two parts, and resolve to lead the best and most numerous of them against Alexander, and face about with the other to

these beasts irritated or exasperated them, to make them trample down the horse, if occasion served; but the foot did their work, and the horse had no business to concern themselves with them. He tells us immediately after, cap. 16, 19, " that the arrows of the Barbarians did them no service; for being long and heavy, they could not direct them true, unless they rested their bows upon the ground; and that being slippery, hindered them so much, that before they could shoot, the enemy was upon them."-What monstrous unwieldy things must these Indian arrows be, that such huge fellows were not able to manage their bows without a rest? And how come they to be so dull as never to find out this inconveniency before? Besides, the ground whereon the battle was fought, was of Porus's own choosing; and Arrian has told us plainly, in his fifteenth chapter, that the very reason why he chose that place for the field of battle was, because it was not a slippery clay, but a firm sand .- Made firm, no doubt, by the heavy rains which fell the night before,—and every way fit for his chariots to wheel round upon.

meet Cænus; and this served to break the ranks as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander taking this opportunity of their dividing their forces, immediately rushed forwards upon that party designed against him, which were scarce able to sustain the first shock of his horse, before they fled to the elephants as to a friendly wall for refuge, whose governors stirred up the beasts to trample down the horse; but the Macedonian phalanx galled not only the beasts themselves, but their riders also, with their arrows: and this was a manner of fighting altogether new and unheard-of among the Macedonians; for which-way-soever the elephants turned, the ranks of foot, however firm, were forced to give way. The Indian horse, now perceiving their foot in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again forced back with loss, (because they were far inferior to them, not only in number but in military discipline,) and retreated among the elephants. And now all Alexander's horse being joined together in one body, (not by any command of his, but by chance, and a casual event in the battle,) wherever they fell upon the Indians, they made dreadful havoc among them. And the beasts* being now pent up in a narrow space, and violently enraged, did no less mischief to their own men than the enemy; and as they tossed and moved about, multitudes were trampled to death; besides, the horse being confined among the elephants, a huge slaughter

^{*} Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 14, 28, 29, " that the Macedonians began to hack the elephants' legs with axes, and to hew off their trunks with crooked swords made on purpose, and that their fear taught them this, &c."—No doubt but the Macedonians had workmen to make all sorts of weapons, in the several stations where their army rested; but to imagine that they built forges, and hammered out axes and crooked swords, to lop off legs and hands (manus) of elephants in a field of battle, chose out by their enemies, and in the heat of an engagement, is mere madness, and what none but himself would have been guilty of intimating.

ensued; for many of the governors of the beasts* being slain by the archers, and the elephants themselves, partly enraged with their wounds and partly for want of riders, no longer kept any certain station in the battle, but running forwards, as if madness had seized them, they pushed down, slew, and trampled under-foot, friends and foes without distinction: only the Macedonians having the advantage of a more free and open space, gave way, and made room for the furious beasts to rush through their ranks, but slew them whenever they attempted to return: but the beasts at last, quite wearied out with wounds and toil, were no longer able to push with their usual force, but only made a hideous noise, and moving their fore feet heavily, passed out of the battle. Alexander having surrounded all the enemy's horse with his, made a signal for the foot to close their shields fast together, and haste that way in a firm body; and by this means the Indian horse, being every way overpowered, were almost all slain. Nor was the fate of their foot much better; for the Macedonians pressing them vehemently on all sides, made a great destruction among them; and at last all of them (except those

^{* &}quot;The elephants," Curtius tells us, lib. viii. cap. 14, 30, "having received many wounds (by the Macedonians' new-invented axes and crooked swords), fell upon their own men, and having cast off their riders or governors, trampled them under-foot; wherefore becoming much more mischievous to their own men than to their enemies, they were driven out of the battle."-We have already shown, that the elephants were posted before the Indian foot, to serve instead of a fence or breast-work for them to retire to, so long as they stood firm. It was therefore the business of the Macedonians to remove them as fast as they could; which they did by shooting their riders or governors down, and then wounding them with their arrows. This enraged them so much, that pushing forward, they trampled under-foot all they met, as well friends as foes. The Macedonians perceiving their approach, made way for them, and suffered them to pass out of the battle. Thus, by Arrian's assistance, I have made out Curtius's meaning, though it is impossible to pick common sense out of his words.

whom Alexander's horse had hemmed in) perceiving their case desperate, turned their backs and fled.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the mean while Craterus,* and the captains who were with him on the other side the river, no sooner perceived the victory to incline to the Macedonians. than they passed over, and made a dismal slaughter of the Indians in the pursuit; and being fresh soldiers, they succeeded those who had been wearied out in the heat of the battle. Of the Indian foot, little less than twenty thousand fell that day; of their horse about three thousand. All their chariots were hacked to pieces; two of Porus's sons were slain; as was Spitaces governor of that province, all the managers of their elephants, and their charioteers, and almost all the captains of horse as well as foot belonging to Porus. The elephants also which were not killed, were every one taken. Of Alexander's foot, which consisted at first of six thousand, and gave the first onset, about eighty were lost; of his equestrian archers, ten; of the auxiliary horse, twenty; and of all the rest of the troops of horse, about two hundred. Porus, who behaved himself with the utmost prudence, and acted the part not only of an experienced general, but of a stout soldier, all that day; seeing the slaughter made among his horse, and some of his elephants lying dead, others without managers, running about, mad with their wounds; and the greatest part of his foot cut off, behaved not like king

Curtius has taken no notice of this party, which was kept as a body of reserve, and ordered not to pass the river until they perceived the elephants removed from the bank. He has also forgot to acquaint us how many fell on each side; what number of prisoners, or what booty was taken; and notwithstanding he had made so much ado about their armed chariots before, he never condescends to mention them in the last decisive action.

Darius, who left the field among the very first of his troops; but as long as he could see any party of his Indians keep their ground, he fought bravely: but receiving a wound on the right shoulder,* which place alone was bare during the action, (for his coat of mail being excellent both for strength and workmanship, as it afterwards appeared, easily secured the rest of his body,) he turned his elephant out of the battle, and fled. Alexander having observed his gallant and generous behaviour in that day's action, desired above all things to have his life saved; and accordingly sent Taxiles the Indian prince to him, who, when he over-

Porus, according to Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 14, 32, received nine wounds, some before and some behind; for he was aimed at by all. Diodorus, p. 559, says, he sunk down from his elephant by reason of the multitude of his wounds; and Justin agrees with him. However, Diodorus contradicts Curtius; and Curtius is hardly consistent with himself; for he tells us, cap. 14, 33, 34, "that Porus lost so much blood, and (of consequence grew so weak) that he seemed rather to let fall than throw his darts; and the governor of his elephant, seeing the king so near fainting and ready to expire, turned the beast out of the battle."----Well, Porus fled, and Alexander pursued, until his horse died under him. "Then the brother of Taxiles," he says, " was sent to advise Porus to yield; but Porus first made a speech, and then threw a dart at him, which entering his breast, came forth at his back: having done his business, he began to mend his pace; upon which his elephant, by reason of the many wounds he had received, sunk down under him. Then endeavouring to rally his foot-forces, the battle was renewed, and multitudes of darts being thrown at him, he began to slide off from his elephant; whereupon the governor of the beast, thinking his master was about to alight, made the beast bend his body to the ground."-It was time; but it was a thousand to one but the king was down first: However, if I mistake not, the beast had sunk down under Porus before, so that the governor might have saved himself the trouble of commanding him to bend his body. But this is not all; for "Alexander," he says, cap. 14, 40, "no sooner ordered Porus's body to be stripped, but the elephant, as if he had been sensible of the indignity offered to his master, defended him, and began to assault and run at those who offered to approach him; and not only so, but strove to recover him again upon his back."—This was predigious in a beast which had sunk down under him, and was not able to stand, about a dozen lines before; so strangely do those people contradict themselves who have no regard to truth.

took him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop his beast (for that all his endeavours to escape were vain) and receive Alexander's commands. Porus, seeing it was Taxiles, his old enemy, ran against him with his spear, and had perhaps slain him, if he had not immediately turned away his horse and escaped out of his sight. ever, all this was not sufficient to incense Alexander against him; but he sent others, and after them more, among whom was Meroe, an Indian, because he understood that there had been an old friendship between him and Porus. Porus overcome with Meroe's exhortations, and almost dead with thirst, caused his elephant to kneel down, and then alighted from him; and as soon as he had refreshed himself with a little water, he accompanied Meroe to Alexander.

CHAPTER XIX.

ALEXANDER being informed of the approach of Porus, advanced a little forwards before his army; and, accompanied by some of his friends, went to meet him; and stopping his horse, was seized with admiration at his tallness, (for he was above five cubits high,)* as well as at his beauty, and the justness of the proportion of his body; and he was no less

*Five cubits are equal to about seven foot and a half of our measure. Plutarch, p. 37, says, that, according to most authors, he was reckoned to be four cubits and a hand's-breadth; but Raderus thinks his four cubits ought to be five; because Eustathius in his Notes to Dionysius, ver. 1027, tells us, that many of the Indians were above five cubits high. Curtius gives us no certain rule by which we may guess at his stature, he only affirming, lib. viii. cap. 13, 7, "that Porus exceeded the common height of men, and that his elephant as far surpassed the rest of the elephants in bulk, as he did the rest of his army in strength and stature."—Diodorus, p. 559, adds, that his body was so big, that his breast-plate was twice the dimensions with any of the rest.

amazed to find, that he seemed still far from entertaining any humble or servile ideas in his mind, though he was conquered: he considered besides, that he was a generous man, who had contended with another of equal generosity, and that he was a king who had strove to preserve his dominions from the invasions of another king. Then Alexander first directing his discourse to him, commanded him to ask what he should do for him: to whom Porus made answer, "That he would use him royally." Alexander smiling replied, "That I would do for my own sake; but say what I shall do for thine." Porus told him, "All his wishes were summed up in his first petition." Alexander, overjoyed at this answer of his, not only restored him straight to liberty, and the full possession of his former dominions, but also gave him another empire beyond his own, and treated him in so royal and so generous a manner that he ever after had him his fast friend. Thus concluded the wars of Alexander against Porus and the Indians beyond the river Hydaspes, in the month Munychion, when Hegemon was archon of Athens. Then on the very place where the battle had been fought beyond the river, and where his grand encampment was on this side, he caused two cities † to be built: that on the further

* Plutarch, p. 38, has given us this question and answer much to the same purpose: "For Alexander," he says, "asked Porus how he expected to be used? Porus answered, As a king ought to be. And when the same question was repeated, he told him, that his first answer comprehended every thing." Curtius, who was a speech-maker by trade, has made a couple of fine ones for Alexander, with their replies for Porus, which, whoever pleases, may read towards the conclusion of his eighth book.

† Curtius, who is always sure to copy the errors of his master Diodorus, tells us, lib. ix. cap. 3, 23, "that those cities were built when Alexander fixed upon a resolution of departing out of India." But in this, he has not only Arrian, but the whole posse of writers against him. Arrian indeed informs us, that he caused them to be repaired at that time, because they had received much damage by the overflowing of the river; but that they were built before,

side he named Nicæa, in memory of his victory over the Indians; this he named Bucephalus, to perpetuate the memory of his horse Bucephalus, which died there, not because of any wound he had received, but merely of old age and excess of heat; for when this happened he was nigh thirty years old: * he had also endured much fatigue, and undergone many dangers with his master, and would never suffer any except Alexander himself to mount him. He was strong and beautiful in body, and of a generous spirit. The mark by which he was said to have been particularly distinguished, was a head like an ox, from whence he received his name of Bucephalus: or rather, according to others, because he being black, had a white mark upon his forehead, not unlike those which oxen often bear. When Alexander had once lost this horse in the territories of the Uxii, he caused a proclamation to be issued throughout all the country, that unless they would restore him, he would put them all to the sword; upon which he was immediately restored: so dear was he to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians.

all agree. Plutarch acquaints us, p. 38, "that he built a city in memory of his favourite dog Peritas:"—which he honoured, no doubt, with his name. However, this is the same, in all probability, with Nicæa; se that the city built in memory of his horse was on one side of the river, because he died there; and that in memory of his dog was on the opposite side; perhaps his dog might die in the bed of honour.

If Bucephalus was nigh thirty years of age when Alexander was scarce nine-and-twenty, he must be nigh seventeen when he was brought to Philip and sold for thirteen talents; for Alexander was then towards sixteen. What mettle horses might then be made of, I know not, nor what price they might bear; but I fancy a Smithfield jockey in our age would give little more for a horse of sixteen years old than the value of his skin and his shoes.

CHAPTER XX.

WHEN Alexander had performed all due honours to those who fell in that battle, and had offered the accustomed sacrifices to the gods for his victory, he exhibited gymnic and equestrian exercises upon the banks of the river Hydaspes, in the very place where he passed over. He then left Craterus, with some of his forces, there, to finish the cities which he had begun, and to surround them with walls, while himself marched against the Indians adjacent to Porus's dominions.* These were called Glaucanicæ by Aristobulus, and by Ptolemy, Glausæ; but which was their right appellation is not very material. Alexander entered their country with part of his auxiliary horse, and some of the choicest out of every company of foot, all his equestrian archers, besides his Agrians and archers, and the whole country was immediately delivered up to him. It contained thirty-seven cities, the least of which had not less than five thousand inhabitants, and many of the biggest above ten thousand; there were also a vast number of large villages, some of them little less populous than cities. This whole country he added to the dominions of Porus. After which, having wrought a reconciliation between him and Taxiles, he gave the latter leave to return to his territories. About this time arrived ambassadors

^{*} I cannot find that Curtius takes any notice of these people; but instead of that, he busies himself, and amuses his readers, with stories of serpents and rhinoceroses, lib. ix. chap. 1, 5, &c. which, however true, ought to give place to historical facts, because they are nothing to his purpose. Plutarch seems to glance obliquely at them, by saying, p. 38, "that Alexander added a large province of some free people whom he had newly subdued to the dominions of Porus, which consisted of fifteen several nations, and contained five thousand considerable towns, besides abundance of villages.

from Abissares,* acquainting him that he and his country were at his command. This Abissares, before the battle at the Hydaspes, designed to have joined his forces with Porus against Alexander, but the overthrow of that monarch changed his resolutions; wherefore, to ingratiate himself with Alexander, he then dispatched his brother and other ambassadors to him, with a present of money and forty elephants. Ambassadors were also sent at this time from the Indians, who were governed by laws of their own making; and from another Indian prince whose name was Porus. Alexander immediately ordered Abissares to attend him in person, and threatened, that unless he obeyed, he would lead his army directly into his territories. At this juncture Phrataphernes governor of Parthia, and Hyrcania, with the Thracians committed to his charge, came to Alexander, as also messengers from Sisicottus ruler of the Assaceni, assuring him that that nation had slain their governor and revolted: Against them he dispatched Philip and Tariyspes with an army, to reduce them to obedience, and afterwards rule the province. He in the mean time directed his march towards the river Acesines.† Ptolemy the son of Lagus has given

^{*} Abissares, according to Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 1, 7, sent ambassadors now a second time to Alexander, promising to submit to all his commands, on condition he might not be obliged to surrender his person; for that he could not brook to live without a royal authority, nor to enjoy even that when he had been once a captive." But Alexander answered him, "that if he thought it too much trouble to come to him, he would take the pains to wait upon him."—Had Abissares sent any such message, Alexander would undoubtedly have paid him a visit; but that he did not visit him, is evident from Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 4, who assures us, that Alexander accepted of his excuse for not attending him in person, on account of his ill state of health: and to add to the probability of this, Curtius tells us, lib. x. cap. 1, 20, that he received an account of his death.

[†] Freinshemius acquaints us, "that, from this place, Curtius hurries on his History abundantly too fast; that he entirely omits

us a description of this river; and indeed it is the only one throughout all India he has taken the pains to describe. He tells us, that the current, in that part thereof where Alexander ferried over his army with his hides and his vessels, was fierce and rapid, and the channel full of large and sharp rocks, which beating the waters back, and wheeling them about, caused vast boilings and eddies; that its breadth was about fifteen furlongs; that those who were placed upon the hides, found a safe and easy passage; but many of those who embarked on board the vessels were wrecked, by striking against the rocks, and lost their lives. From the description of this river, it is no hard matter to gather, that those authors err not much who give us an account of the breadth of the river Indus; namely, that it is forty furlongs where widest, but in the narrowest and deepest parts thereof not above fifteen; and that this is the general breadth all along. I am of opinion, that Alexander chose that part of the river Acesines where the channel was widest, and consequently stillest, for the transportation of his army.

many acts of great importance, and touches upon others in a manner too light and trivial. Vide Freinsheim. ad Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1, 8. He has mentioned the river Acesines indeed, but not in its due place: he tells us, lib. viii. cap. 9, 7, "that it falls into the Ganges, just before that river disburthens itself into the Red Sea."—Here are two assertions, and both false; for first, the Acesines falls not into the Ganges, but into the Indus; for which see Arrian, lib. vi. 1; Pliny, lib. vi. 20; Strabo, lib. xv.: nay, even Curtius himself allows the same, lib. ix. cap. 4, 1. Secondly, although the ancients extended the Red Sea a vast way, and some of them perhaps as far as the mouth of the river Indus, yet none of them ever dreamt of stretching it to such an immense distance as the Ganges.

CHAPTER XXI.

HAVING thus passed the river, he left Canus with his forces upon the bank, to take care that the rest of the army should pass safe, and also to gather up corn and other necessaries from all the neighbouring parts of India which were under his subjection. He also dismissed Porus, and sent him to his kingdom, with orders to muster up some of the best and most warlike soldiers he could, and some tame elephants (if be had any), and return to him again. He having received intelligence that the other Porus * had fled out of his dominions, was resolved to pursue him with the best and most expeditious troops of his whole army. This Porus, while Alexander waged war with the other, sent ambassadors to him, promising a free surrender of himself and kingdom, rather out of hatred to the other Porus, than any good-will to Alexander. But when he heard that he was sent back, and knew for a certainty that his kingdom was restored to him much enlarged, he left his own territories and fled, not so much for fear of Alexander as of Porus: and took with him all who were fit for war, and all whom he could possibly persuade to accompany him in his flight. Alexander marching against him, came to the Hydraotes,† another Indian river, nothing inferior in

^{*} M. Le Clerc, in his Criticism prefixed to this work, tells us, that Curtius has comprehended all he had to say of this Porus in one word. Strabo in his fifteenth book has mentioned him just in a cursory manner; but the only valuable account of him is this of Arrian. The word which M. Le Clerc hints at is, lib. ix. cap. 1, 8, Poro anneque superato, ad interiora processit; which imports, that when Alexander had conquered Porus, and passed the river, he marched forward to the inner parts of India.—By this may indeed be meant this second Porus, and the river Acesines; but it is difficult to find the author's true meaning, and if we could, it is hardly worth the search.

[†] This river Curtius and Strabo call Hyarotis, but neither of them has given any description thereof. Curtius indeed tells us,

breadth to Acesines, but not nigh so rapid; and took care to post guards in all convenient places, that Craterus and Cænus, whom he had sent out to forage through all the country, might pass safely to him. Then he dispatched Hephæstion with part of his army, namely, two squadrons of foot, and his own and Demetrius's troops of horse, as also half the archers, to take possession of the whole country which that Porus had deserted; and deliver it into the hands of the other Porus, his friend: and if he found any free Indians upon the banks of the river Hydraotes, he should also give them up to his governors. In the mean while he passed the river Hydraotes with less difficulty than he had the Acesines; and marching forwards, some of the inhabitants yielded themselves and country; others took up arms and attempted to oppose him, but were defeated; and many endeavouring to secure themselves by flight, were pursued, and reduced to obedience.

CHAPTER XXII.

THEN came news to Alexander, that certain free Indians and Catheans were resolved to give him battle if he attempted to lead his army thither, and that they were soliciting all their free neighbours to join with them; as also, that they had chosen a city named Sangala, strong by art and nature, where they had fixed their encampment, and were resolved to fight him. The Catheir were a stout people, well skilled in mi-

lib. ix. cap. 1, 13, "that near it there was a wood, wherein were strange trees, and wild peacocks; and that Alexander besieged a town not far off (which he names not,) and having won it, imposed a tribute from the inhabitants, and took hostages for the payment thereof."—This account may perhaps be supposed to quadrate with the conclusion of this chapter; if not, I cannot help it. I am only to find out parallel places in the two authors, not to make them.

litary affairs, and with them the Oxydracæ and the Malli, two other Indian nations, were confederated. Porus and Abissares, not long before, had joined their forces against these, and called in the aid of many Indian princes besides; but were forced at last to depart, without effecting any thing suitable to such mighty preparations. Alexander no sooner heard this, but he immediately directed his march against the Cathæi; and on the day after his departure from the river Hydraotes, came to a city called Pimprama, belonging to a nation of Indians named Adraistæ, who forthwith surrendered themselves and country into his hands. The next day he tarried there to refresh his soldiers, and on the third reached Sangala.* where he found the Cathæi and some of their confederates drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill, neither very high nor naturally very difficult of This hill they had environed with their carriages in a triple range, by which it was fortified as with a triple wall, and their tents were pitched in the middle. Alexander † taking a survey of the nature of

† As we have not one word in Curtius about the disposition of the Barbarians, so he is entirely silent as to the disposition of Alexander's troops, as if every thing (which was so regularly ordered in this attack) had been done in hurry and confusion. We are not so much as told whether they were foot or horse; neither

^{*}Curtius has presented us with such an imperfect sketch of the siege of this place, that it appears more like the tattered fragments or broken remains of a story thrown together, than any thing regularly designed. He informs us, lib. ix. cap. 1, 14, "that Alexander having taken hostages at the former place, came to a great city (as cities are in that country) which was fenced, not only with a wall, but alake."—Now would not any reader imagine that the lake surrounded the wall? I am sure I should, if Arrian had not taught me better; for he tells us in the next chapter, "that the wall surrounded the town, but the lake ran only along one side of the wall."—But to proceed, "There he was met by the Barbarians, who came out to fight him with chariots tied together."—He acquaints us not whether they were upon a hill or in a valley; and I believe it impossible for any mortal, by his description, to have any idea of the encampment, as it was in reality.

the place, and the multitude of his enemies, chose a convenient place for his encampment, and then ordered his equestrian archers to advance forward, and gall them with their arrows; but first to surround them, to hinder them from making any excursion upon the Macedonians, before they had prepared themselves for battle, and to strike a terror into those in the camp, before a battle ensued. He then ranged his army in this manner: On the right wing were the horse, and Clitus's forces; next those the targeteers, and then the Agrians: On the left wing, where Perdiccas commanded, were his own troops and the auxiliary foot; the archers were divided, and placed in both wings. At this very time arrived the troops of foot and horse which had been posted as guards upon the road: the horse he distributed into both wings, but added the foot to the phalanx, or main body, to strengthen it; and then with the horse on the right, he advanced to attack the Indian carriages on the left; for the range of their carriages seemed not only much weaker in that part than any other, but the ascent of the hill was also much easier to be gained.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But when he perceived that the Indians stirred not out of their intrenchment, nor endeavoured to come to an engagement with the horse, but only climbed up into their carriages,* and from thence, as from an

have we the name of one commanding officer given us; and if it were not for his story of the chariots tied together with thongs, which is something particular, all the remaining part of the description would serve as well for any other battle, as that for which it was designed. See Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1, 15, &c.

"The Indians," according to Curtius's narration, lib. ix. cap. 1; 3, "were armed, some with darts, others with spears and axes, and paped with great force and agility into the chariots, when they had a mind to assist any of their own party in danger: so unusual a way of fighting did not a little startle the Macedo-

eminence, threw their weapons, he judged the horse unfit for such an attack; and therefore alighting immediately from his, he led a battalion of foot against them. They were repulsed from the first range of their carriages, without any great difficulty; but when the Macedonians advanced to the second, they found a much greater resistance; because the carriages not only stood much closer, but the way by which the attack was made was much narrower. However, after a long struggle, they broke and tore away some

nians, because they were wounded at a distance."-So they had been a thousand times before, and must expect to be, wherever missive weapons are made use of. So that there was nothing unusual in it; nor does Arrian once intimate that they were startled at the matter at all.—" However," Curtius adds, "upon better consideration, despising a troop so ill composed and irregular"-I appeal to all the world, whether a body of forces upon an eminence so strongly barricadoed, with three rows of carriages instead of breast-works or intrenchments, can properly be styled an ill-composed and irregular troop-" they poured in upon them, and besetting both sides of their chariots, began with their swords most furiously to assail all who opposed them; and that they might the better come at the chariots to surround them singly, orders were given to cut asunder the cords or thongs wherewith they were bound together; so that the enemies, after the loss of eight thousand of their men, were forced to retire into the town; whose walls being the very next day attempted with scaling-lad-ders, were easily gained."—That they were, when the ladders came to be fixed; but a breach was first made, and even before that, the Macedonians found work enough; though perhaps Curtius did not think it worth his describing.-- "Some few," he tells us, "saved themselves by flight, who knowing of the taking of the city, swam over the lake, and filled all the neighbouring towns with terror and consternation."-I defy the best critic in Christendom to make sense of this; for if those who saved themselves by flight fled out of the battle, and swam across the lake, they must enter into the city, where they would be cooped up with the rest, and not suffered to run out and scare their neighbours; and if they fled out of the city, it must be before it was taken, and then how could they be so very sure of its destruction?-He then concludes his story by telling us, "They reported every where that an invincible army was come, who seemed rather gods than men."-They might look like gods, but they fought like devils, he the poor townsmen, who were forced to bear the brunt of it, found afterwards to their cost.

of the carriages, and having thus laid some parts of the range open, rushed through the vacant spaces, every one as they could. The Indians thus repulsed from the second order, retreated to the third, but not daring to rely upon the strength thereof, fled into the city with all imaginable haste; and having shut up their gates, Alexander, with the foot-forces he had with him, as far as they would serve for that purpose, caused them to be besieged; but the wall thereof being of too large a circuit to be environed by such a number, where the line of the foot ended, (except the space of a certain lake not far from the walls,) he filled up the vacancy with horse; and well knowing that the lake was not of any great depth, he easily conjectured that the Indians, terrified with the loss they had already received, would endeavour to escape out of the city by night; and indeed so it happened: for about the second watch, many of them endeavouring silently to escape, fell in among the horse-guards, by whom the foremost of them were cut off; whereupon those who followed, perceiving the disaster, and that the lake was wholly guarded by the horse, retreated back into the city. Alexander then surrounded the whole town, except that part where the lake prevented it, with a rampart and ditch, and placed a much stronger party of horse to guard the lake, resolving at the same time to draw his engines forwards to batter the walls, had he not received intelligence. by some deserters, that the Indians had fixed their resolution that very night to steal out of the city, and escape by way of the lake, where the rampart ended. He thereupon posted Ptolemy the son of Lagus there, with three thousand targeteers, all the Agrians, and one troop of archers, and showed him the very place where the besieged would, in all probability, endeavour to force their way through; giving him orders, that as soon as he perceived them advance, he, with the forces he had, should obstruct their march, and

order a trumpeter immediately to sound an alarm; at the hearing of which, all his captains, with their troops, were immediately to haste to the place whence the sound proceeded; and for his part, he promised he would not be absent, but take his share in the engagement.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHEN Alexander had given these orders, Ptolemy gathered all the carriages which they had seized from the enemy in the late conflict, and placed them across the road, that he might add to the difficulties of their escape, who were to try that way by night. rampart also, which had not been before perfected, or not sufficiently strengthened, was completed that very night by the soldiers. The besieged then, about the fourth watch, according to Alexander's intelligence, setting open the gates towards the lake, endeavoured to escape that way; but could neither be long concealed from the Macedonian guards, nor from Ptolemy, who lay there. The trumpeters hereupon immediately sounded an alarm, and Ptolemy with his troops, ready armed and marshalled, came to oppose them. Besides which, the rampart and the carriages drawn across were no small hinderances to their further progress; which unforeseen difficulties they being unable to surmount, were forced to retire back into the city, leaving five hundred of their number slain upon the spot. In the mean while Porus arrived in the camp, with all the elephants he could procure, and five thousand Indians. And now the engines were got ready, and drawn forwards to the wall; but the Macedonians having thrown down a part of the wall, which was of brick, by undermining it, and scaling-ladders being fixed, they mounted the breach every where, and took the city by assault. About VOL. II.

seventeen thousand Indians " were slain at the sacking of that place; and above seventy thousand taken, besides three hundred chariots and five hundred horse. Of the Macedonians, not above one hundred were slain during the whole siege; but the number of the wounded was vastly disproportionable to those who fell, for they were no fewer than one thousand two hundred, among whom were sundry commanders of note, but especially Lysimachus, one of the bodyguards. Alexander having then buried the dead, according to the custom of his country, dispatched Eumenes, † his scribe, with three hundred horse, to those two cities which were in confederacy with the Sangalians, to acquaint the citizens that Sangala was taken by storm, but that no harm should happen to them if they would receive a garrison, any more than had to the other free cities of India which had voluntarily surrendered. But they having received more early notice of the overthrow of Sangala, and being terrified therewith, had abandoned their cities, and fled; which Alexander knowing, he pursued hard after them. However, many escaped, because the pursuit was begun late; but those whom old age or infirmities had rendered incapable of shifting for themselves, were gleaned up by the way, and slain, to the number of about five hundred. Then laving aside all thoughts of continuing the pursuit, he returned to Sangala, and laid it level with the ground; giving the country round it to those free Indians who had volun-

^{*} We have no account in Curtius, of what numbers fell on either side, nor how many prisoners, nor what quantity of plunder, was taken; he only closes this narration with a wise sentence, and straight proceeds to another.

[†] Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 1, 19, says, "that Eumenes was dispatched with some forces (but how many he talls us not): to reduce others of the Barbariana, and that Alexander marched with the rest to a strong city, where many were fled for refuge." But as his story and this of Arrian have no affinity with each other, I shall not trouble my reader with making any comparison between them.

tarily submitted to him. He then dispatched Porus and his forces to the cities which he had newly gained, to furnish them with garrisons, whilst he proceeded on his march to the river Hyphasis, with the rest of the army, to reduce those Indians beyond it; for he could not endure to think of putting an end to the war, to long as he could find enemies.

CHAPTER XXV.

ALEXANDER had, moreover, heard that the country beyond Hyphasis* was rich, and the inhabitants thereof good husbandmen and excellent soldiers; that they were governed by the nobility, and lived peaceably, their rulers imposing nothing harsh nor unjust upon them; that they had a greater store of elephants than any other part of India; and that the elephants

* Curtius tells us a quite contrary story, lib. ix. cap. 2, 2, and gives us one Phegelas, (Diodorus calls him Phegeus,) whom he makes a neighborring prince, for his author. "Phegelas," he says, "told the king, that when he had passed the river Hyphasis, he had eleven days march through vast deserts, and then he would arrive at the banks of the river Ganges, beyond which dwelt the Gangarides and Parrhasians, whose king was named Agrammes, (Diodorus carlls him Xandrames, p. 563,) who had blocked up the passes with 20,000 horse and 200,000 foot, besides 2000 chariots, and, what was most formidable of all, no fewer than 3000 elephants. All the particulars of this story seemed incredible to Alexander."-And so they do to me too, unless I had better authority to vouch for the truth of them. However, Curtius tells us, "Alexander called Porus, who confirmed the story."—That must be false; for Arrian assures us he had dispatched Porus away, before he took his march toward that river. Plutarch, p. 38, magnifies this story much more than Curtius; for he says, "The Gandaritans and Præsians were said to expect him with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8000 armed chariots, and 6000 fighting elephants." Justin, lib. xii. cap. 8, tells us, "that Alexander overcame both these nations, and worsted their armies."-But that could never be; for, whoever they were, he came not near them.—If ever Alexander heard of any such reports, I think they were no more than stories, contrived on purpose to discourage the soldiers and force him to return, which we find they afterwards did.

bred there, surpassed those of all other countries in strength as well as stature. This news fired him with a fresh ambition of proceeding forwards; but the spirits of his soldiers began to flag, when they found their king always attempting one toil after another, and plunging himself and them into new hazards. after he had got clear of the old ones. They therefore agreed to hold a secret consultation in the camp; where some, who were not so sanguine as the rest, contented themselves with deploring their hard fortune; others protested they would follow their king no further, even though he should command them. When Alexander came to understand this, for fear a sedition should arise, and to prevent the contagion from spreading further and gathering strength, he called a council of his commanding officers, and spoke to this purpose: "Since I understand, O Macedonians, my fellow-soldiers and companions, that ye are unwilling to undertake difficulties with me with the same cheerfulness as formerly; I have therefore taken this opportunity of calling you together in council, that I may either persuade you to proceed further, or be persuaded by you to return; for if you neither approve of the labours you have already undergone. nor of me who have hitherto led you on, I have no need to continue my discourse. But * if by these you now possess the Hellespont, both Phrygia's, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phœnicia, with Ægypt, and that part of Libya, which the Greeks held: if by these you share the sovereignty of some part of Arabia, Cœlosyria, Me-

Arrian and Curtius have each put a speech into the mouth of Alexander on this occasion, expressing his extreme ambition of pushing on his conquests still further; and another into that of Cænus, in reply to it. As the grounds they went upon were very different, their speeches are as different, however tending to the same end. But as they contain few matters of history but what we have taken notice of elsewhere, and have but little affinity with each other, I shall leave the comparison between them to my reader.

sopotamia, besides Babylon and Susa; if by these the mighty empires of Persia and Media be brought under subjection, and we have passed through the Caspian Streights, and over Mount Caucasus, and extended our conquests beyond the river Tanais, among the Bactrians, and even to the Hyrcanian Sea: if we have driven the Scythians out of their deserts, and caused the river Indus, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, to flow through our territories; why should we now delay to extend our conquests yet further, and add Hyphasis also. and the countries beyond it, to the Macedonian empire? Or can you be afraid that any Barbarians whom we may henceforth meet, should give us an overthrow, when all we have hitherto found have yielded to our power? some of their own accord; others by being taken in flight; and others still have quite abandoned their countries, and left us peaceably to take possession, which we have either committed to the government of some of our countrymen, or to those who have become our allies and confederates.

CHAPTER XXVI.

"I, FOR my part, would propose no other end to the labours of a generous mind, than the labours themselves, which certainly lead to glory and honour. But if any among you be solicitous to know where we shall end this war; I answer, that we have but a small part of the grand continent to pass over, before we shall arrive at the river Ganges and the Eastern Ocean, which ocean (for it surrounds the earth) you shall perceive to join with the Hyrcanian Sea.* Then,

^{*} Whether this was really spoken by Alexander to encourage his soldiers, or the whole contrived by Arrian, it is undoubtedly an error in geography; and for any to say, that many authors since that time have asserted the same thing, will be no argument in its defence.

O Macedonians and friends, I will show you, that the Indian Gulf has a communication with the Persian. and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian. also fetch a compass in our ships, from the Persian Gulf to Libya, beyond Hercules's pillars; and all Libya, within those limits, shall be ours; as also all Asia; and by this means the same bounds which God has placed to the earth, will I place to our ampire. But if we now return, many great and warlike nations between the river Hyphasis and the Eastern Ocean, and many also to the northward, towards the Hyrcanian Sea, bordering upon Scythia, will be left behind unsubdued: for which reason it is much to be feared. that if we should return home, those whom we have reduced, being not yet sufficiently secured, may be incited to revolt by those we have not visited, and then all our great labours would be in vain; or, at least, we must attempt, by new toils, to secure to ourselves what we had gained by the old ones. Wherefore, my dear countrymen and friends, let us push forwards; toils and dangers are the rewards of the bold; a life spent in virtuous actions is pleasant; and death is no ways terrible to those who have secured to themselves an immortal glory. You cannot but know that our progenitor had never arrived to such a pitch of glory, as from a mortal to be a god, or even to be accounted so, if he had loitered away his time at Tirynthe, at Argos, or Peloponnesus, or Neither are the labours of Bacchus (who is a god of a higher rank than Hercules) few or con-But we have penetrated the country far beyond the city Nysa; and the rock Aornus, which defied the force of Hercules, has submitted to our power: Proceed, therefore, to add what remains in Asia to what we have already gained, a small conquest to a mighty one; unless you are already weary, or ashamed of your former glorious exploits, what great or memorable act had we done in life, if we had all this while remained content with our

Macedonian territories, unincred to dangers; and only employed our time in defending our own prowince, or expelling the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Triballi, or the Grecians, who entered our dominions in an hostile manner? If I, your general, had never shared with you in the toils and dangers you have undergone, but remained lazy and inactive, well might your hearts fail you, because the labours were really yours, and others were to reap the fruits of them: but as my labours have ever been the same with yours, and our dangers have been always equal, so the rewards are equally distributed; for all the countries which we have subdued are yours, you are the governors of them; I have only the bare title: and the greatest part of the treasures which we have gained, even the wealth of almost all Asia, is already in your possession: but when Asia is entirely subdued, then I hope I shall be able, not only to satisfy all your most sanguine hopes, but even to exceed them: and when the war is at an end, those who are inclined to return into their own country, I will freely dismiss, or lead them back myself; and those who choose to tarry behind, I will take care that the others shall envy their happiness."

CHAPTER XXVII.

WHEN Alexander had made an end of speaking these and many other things to the same purpose, a general silence ensued; * none daring openly to

^{*} Arrian gives us here nothing at all improbable, concerning the behaviour of the Macedonians, after the king had finished his speech. But Curtius, who never suffers a story to slip through his fingers without some embellishment, tells us, lib. ix. cap. 3, 2, "that there first arose a general murmur among them, and then a sighing, till at last their grief was raised to such an excessive height, that it discharged itself in such showers of tears, that the king, in spite of his late wrath, could not forbear weeping too."—A pretty sight, to see the great conqueror of the world he

declare their opinions against that of their king, though they would not consent to the reasonableness of the proposal. And when he again pressed them freely to deliver their minds, if any of them had any thing to say against what he had offered, the same silence still continued; till at last, Cænus the son of Polemocrates took courage, and spoke after this manner:*

mighty son of Jupiter, the rival of Bacchus and Hercules, sniveling, and putting his fingers in his eyes, on purpose to keep his soldiers in countenance.

* I designed not to have made any observations upon the speeches on either side; but that which Curtius has made for Cenus, is so extraordinary, that it is impossible to pass it by without remark. At the very first he greets his majesty thus, in the name of the soldiery: "The gods forbid," says he, lib. ix. cap. 3, 5, " that we should harbour any disloyal thoughts in our breasts, and indeed they do forbid it."—That was false; for they had been busy caballing just before, and holding secret conferences how to frustrate his designs: and Arrian assures us, that some of them were so sanguine herein, as to protest they would march no further, though he should lay his commands upon them.—Then he proceeds: "We your soldiers have still the same hearts and affections for your majesty we ever had, and are as ready to go any where to fight, to hazard our lives, and with the loss of our blood make your name famous to posterity. And therefore, if you will persist in your design, though unarmed, nay, though naked, we are ready, in any equipage, either to follow or go before you."-This is every syllable false too; for Plutarch assures us, p. 38, "that the last battle with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonian courage, and hindered their further progress in India; for having with much ado defeated him, who brought but 20,000 foot and 2000 horse into the field, they thought they had reason to oppose Alexander's design, &c."—Curtius then proceeds, cap. 3, 8: "We are now advanced almost to the end of the world, and you yet prepare an expedition into another, and seek an India unknown to the Indians themselves."-This is strange stuff; but he had said something full as strange before; for he told his sovereign, that "they had traversed over so many seas and lands, that they knew all things in them better than the natives themselves."—He then goes on: "You endeavour to rout people who live among wild beasts and serpents, out of their dens and lurking-places, that you may carry your victories further than the sun ever saw." - This is such a declaiming rant as could never have come into the head of any but a rhetorician.—Then he proceeds: "Our darts and javelins are now grown pointless, and our arrows are worn out; how many of us are there, who have not so much as a corslet or

"Forasmuch, O king, as thou hast already declared. thou wilt not compel the Macedonians, but only endeavour by persuasions to induce them to march forwards; I here presume, not to speak for those of my own rank (who have tasted in a more than ordinary manner of thy favours, and have many of us already received the rewards of our labours, and are at all times ready to execute the commands thou art pleased to lay upon us), but for the multitude; neither shall I so much study to deliver such things in my present discourse, as may be grateful to the soldiery, as those which may be safe for the present, and honourable to after times. Moreover, my advanced age, as well as the dignity of my post, requires that I should not conceal any thing which might redound to our advantage; and besides, the toils I have undergone, and the dangers I have boldly encountered, without turning my back upon them, exhort me to declare my sentiments freely. And by how much the more and the greater the exploits have been, which were performed by thee, and those who accompanied thee out of their own country; so much the rather do I judge, that some measures should be set to our toils and hazards. For thou must needs perceive how great was the multitude of Macedonians and Grecians which set forth with thee in this expedition, and how few of us are now left. The Thessalians indeed, when war grew grievous to them, and their courage began to abate, thou sufferedst to return home from Bactria; but the rest of the Gre-

a horse left?"—All this must be only pretence; for they fought several times afterwards, and never complained.—"We are fain," says he, "to wear Persian habits, for want of the convenience of being supplied from home; so that we have been forced to degenerate into a foreign mode."—What a pure time would this have been for a regiment of tailors? What rare wages might they have earned? They might have cut themselves out as great estates by their sheers, as the commanding officers did by their swords. But I am quite weary with this stuff; the whole is of a piece, and as such I shall submit it to my readers.

cians are some of them left in the cities which thou hast built, there to remain against their own inclinations: others, who have run through all dangers with the army, are either fallen in battle, or rendered unserviceable by wounds, or left behind in divers parts of Asia; but the far greatest part of all have perished by diseases: and lastly, the few which still survive, out of so great a multitude, are neither so strong nor healthy in body, nor so sound and vigorous in mind, as heretofore. All these have a longing desire (such as is imprinted in every one by nature) once more to visit their parents, wives, children, friends, and native soil: and notwithstanding many of them are raised to honours and authority and great wealth by thy especial grace and favour, yet sure they merit at least forgiveness. But thou, I presume, wilt not lead them into fresh dangers against their will, nor make any further use of those men whose minds are already alienated from military affairs; rather, if it shall seem good to thee, return home, visit thy mother, compose the unsettled state of Greece, and bear so many and such eminent victories to thy own country: then may'st thou set forth upon a new expedition, either against those Indians to the eastward, or if it shall please thee better, against the Scythians who border upon the Euxine Sea; or against Carthage, and the parts of Libya be-Then shall it be fully in thy own power to lead the army whithersoever thou desirest, and then shall other Macedonians be thy followers; and thou shalt change those old soldiers for young ones; those who are wearied out with war, for others fresh and vigorous, to whom war will be no terror, because of the alluring hopes they will have of future rewards. Nay, it is almost impossible to imagine they should not attend thee with the more cheerfulness, when they see those who were the sharers of thy former toils and hazards, return home raised to riches from poverty, and to honours from obscurity. However,

O king, if any thing can be deemed a more transcendent virtue than the rest, it must be to preserve a due moderation in prosperity. Thou art an emperor, and at the head of such an army, what enemy can be terrible to thee? But consider once for all, that the turns of chance are sudden, and therefore to mortals, however prudent, unavoidable."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THUS Conus ended his speech, and a general heaviness sat upon the faces of all present; many of them also shed tears, which was a sufficient intimation to Alexander that a further progress in the war was grievous to them, but that a speedy return into their own country would be acceptable. However, he took offence at Cænus's freedom of speech and the silence of all the rest, and so dismissed the assembly. But calling them again the next day; without so much as endeavouring to dissemble his rage, he protested that he would proceed on his intended expedition, but would compel no Macedonian to attend him; for he doubted not but he should find those who would follow him of their own accord. However, they who were resolved to return were at their liberty, and might go tell their friends at home that they left their king in the midst of his enemies. When he had thus said, he retired into his tent, and refused to speak to any of his friends for three whole days, expecting (as it often happens in an army) that some change of mind should have happened among the Macedonians in that time, and that they might have been softened by persuasions. But he perceived the same sullen silence still to reign among them, and understood that they were violently enraged against him, but that their resolutions remained fixed. However, he offered sacrifices for his safe progress, as Ptolemy assures us; but when the entrails showed omens wholly inauspicious,* he called his friends together, especially those who were the most ancient and the best established in his favour, and declared, That since all things conspired to hinder his further progress, he was determined to return.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THESE words were no sooner caught by the multitude, but a mighty shout ensued, as an expression of their exceeding joy; some could not refrain from tears of gladness; others rushed forwards to the royal pavilion, and there wished their king all future success; because he who was invincible to others, had suffered himself to be overcome by them. Then having divided his army, he ordered twelve alters?

- * I wonder not at all that the omens were inauspicious here. All the chief officers were eagerly bent and resolute to return home, and no doubt but the king found it impossible to persuade them to march further; for which reason he was under a necessity, either to submit to the remonstrances of his soldiers or the decrees of the gods, which he was to know by the inspection of the entrails. To submit to the remonstrances of his soldiers, he thought below him; and therefore, in all probability, chose to have sacrifices offered for his safe passage; and as he had an influence over his priest, and his priest could make the gods speak what he pleased, it was deemed the most politic step to publish it abroad, that the omens were inauspicious, and the gods denied him a safe conduct any further, for which reason he chose to return.
- † Curtius barely mentions these twelve altars, lib. ix. cap. 3, 19; and only tells us, "that they were built of hewn stone, as monuments of his expedition." Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 563, says, they were fifty cubits high. Plutarch adds, p. 38, that "even in his time the kings of the Præsians, highly reverencing them, used to come over the river to offer sacrifice upon them after the Græcian manner."—If this be true, what Curtius wrote before must be false; for he asserted, that it was no less than eleven days journey to the country of the Præsians or Parrhasians, through a vast desert. That Curtius's story is false, the beginning of Alexander's speech makes pretty plain; and that Plutarch in this was imposed upon by those who imagined that Alexander had passed as far as the Ganges, is very probable; because then they might

to be erected, equal in height to so many fortified towers, but far exceeding them in bulk: on these he offered sacrifices to the gods, and gave them thanks for making him thus far victorious, and consecrated those as eternal monuments of his labours. this he exhibited gymnic and equestrian exercises,* and added all that country, as far as the river Hyphasis, to the dominions of Porus. He then returned to the river Hydraotes, and thence to Acesines, where he found the city, which he had left Hephæstion to build, already finished; into which having invited all the neighbouring inhabitants, who were willing, to reside, and leaving there such of his mercenaries as were unfit for travel, he began to prepare every thing necessary for a voyage to the main ocean. At this juncture Arsaces, governor of the province next to Abissares's territories, and the brother of Abissares, with many of their friends, came to Alexander, bringing divers rich and valuable gifts, and amongst the rest thirty elephants, as a present from king Abissares, and declared that he himself would have attended in person, but was hindered by sickness; the truth of which being confirmed by mes-

have sacrificed upon these altars immediately upon passing over the river; but the altars were built upon the bank of the river

Hyphasis, and I cannot find that he ever passed over it.

That the king always exhibited these sports on any solemn occasion, is evident from abundance of instances. However, no author except Arrian takes notice of them here; but instead of them, Curtius tells us, lib. ix. cap. 3, 19, that " he caused the entrenchments of his camp to be enlarged, and beds to be left far larger than the ordinary size of men; that by this imposture he might induce posterity to believe miraculous things of himself and his army." Plutarch adds, p. 38, "that he left bitts of bridles of a vast bigness;" and Seneca adds "monstrous shoes."-However, he needed not have taken so much pains to impose upon afterages that way. The monstrous lies and romantic stories which were spread abroad by many of his followers concerning that expedition, were of more force to mislead after-ages, than if he had extended his camp from thence to the Ganges, and left bedsteads as big as brewers' coolers, shoes like children's cradles, and bitts of bridles as thick as the anchor of a third-rate man of war.

sengers dispatched thither by Alexander, he was easily persuaded to allow Abissares to hold his power under him, and joined Arsaces as a co-partner in his government; and having then fixed the annual tributes they were to pay, he again offered sacrifices upon the banks of the river Acesines, which river having passed over, he came to Hydaspes; where, what parts soever of the two cities Nicæa and Bucephalia the violence of the rains had washed away, he took care to see fully repaired by his soldiers; which being finished, he set himself to other affairs relating to the government of that country.

* Curtius has here copied an error from his master Diodorus: for he not only says that Alexander built his fleet and sailed down the river Acesines, but that he ordered the two cities Nicæa and Buesphalia to be built upon the banks thereof, and speaks of the building them as if they were ordered at his return; whereas I have not only the testimony of the whole stream of writers against him, but also his own; for lib. ix. cap. 1, 6, he says, "The king ordered two cities to be built, on each bank of the river which he last passed over."—And he was not then arrived at the Acesines. "And much timber growing upon the neighbouring mountains," says he, "he gave orders to cut it down to build him a fleet."-Now where should the fleet be built, but near the place where the timber grew? And where should the soldiers find the fleet, but where it was built and lay ready for them? Besides, to put it out of all doubt, Strabo assures us, lib. xvi. p. 1023, edit. Casaub. " that Alexander cut down fir, and pine, and cedar trees in abundance, and fitted out a fleet in the river Hydaspes, near the cities which he had built on each side of that river, where Porus was overcome, and where Bucephalus died."

BOOK. VI.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN Alexander had now built and made ready many triremes and biremes, with several vessels for carrying horses, and all other things necessary for conveying his army, upon the banks of the Hydaspes, he resolved to sail down that river till he came into the ocean. And whereas he had seen crocodiles * in the river Indus, and in no other, except the Nile; and beans growing upon the banks of the river Acesines, such as Ægypt produces; and had heard that Acesines lost itself in the river Indus, he straightway supposed that he had found out the head of the Nile: for he thought it must rise in that country, and after having run through the vast deserts, lose its first name; but coming again into a land well inhabited, it was called Nilus by the Æthiopians and Ægyptians' dwelling in these parts (in the same manner as Homer calls the Nilus by the name of Ægyptus, within the

^{*} Curtius assures us, lib. viii. cap. 9, 9, that "the river Dyardenes, in the further parts of India, breeds not only crocodiles like the Nile, but dolphins and several other monstrous fish unheard of elsewhere." And Nearchus in Strabo, lib. xv. says, that crocodiles are found in the Hydaspes.—This is not unlikely, the river Hydaspes flowing into the Acesines, and that into the Indus. But as to Curtius's crocodiles, we are so far from finding them, that we cannot so much as find the river; and till we can find the river, it will be but lost labour to look for the crocodiles. The dolphins, which he reckors among his monstrous and unheard-of fish, were always common enough, and never reckoned otherwise by any but himself.

dominions of Ægypt), and thence flowed into the Mediterranean Sea. Wherefore, in a letter which he wrote to his mother Olympias concerning the country of India, he told her, among other things, that he believed he had found the fountain of the Nile, grounding his conjecture upon the slight and trivial circumstances before-mentioned. But when he made a narrow search into the affair, he was assured by the inhabitants that the river Hydaspes lost its waters in the Acesines, and the Acesines its waters and name in the Indus, which river discharged its stream by two mouths into the ocean, very far from the country of Ægypt: he then caused that passage concerning the Nile to be expunged out of his letter; and having determined to sail down to the ocean by the course aforesaid, he ordered all preparations to be made accordingly. The rowers and steerers of his vessels were carefully chosen out from among the Phœnicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Ægyptians, who followed his army, and were fit for that purpose.

CHAPTER II.

ABOUT this time Cænus, one of his most intimate friends and faithful companions, departed this life;*

* When Alexander had returned to the river Hydaspes, where his fleet was built and launched, and then lay ready for sailing, Cænus died. This is evident, and confirmed by all authors who have treated upon this subject, except Curtius and his master Diodorus; for he also says that the fleet was built upon the banks of the Acesines, and that Cænus died there. But in the last article Curtius contradicts himself, and in the first, every body else. However, after all, he certainly forgets himself strangely to make Cænus die here in India, lib. ix. cap. 111, 20, and afterwards to bring him to life again in Europe, lib. x. cap. 1, 43. Certainly no man can be reasonably said to be alive in Europe, who has been actually dead two years before in India. His commentators have been dabbling with him here, as they have every where else, and endeavouring to hide his nakedness by their own patch-work coverings. But his shame will show itself, in spite of all disguises.

whose obsequies were celebrated with all the solemnity that the time would allow. Then calling a council of his friends, at which all the ambassadors of the Indian princes were present, he constituted Porus king over all the parts of India he had conquered, which was no less than seven nations, containing above two thousand cities.* After this, he divided his forces in this manner: The targeteers, archers, and Agrians, and some of the horse, he took on board the fleet with him: Craterus was ordered to march along the bank on the right hand, with part of the horse and foot; and Hephæstion on the left hand, with the rest, being the best and greatest part, besides two hundred elephants. They were to make all imaginable haste to the kingdom of Sopithus;† and Philip

One says, if the word Cænus were erased there, all the paragraph would be right. Another is not only for putting out Cænus and substituting Antipater, but making several other alterations, and lastly, transplanting the whole paragraph from lib. x. to the entrance upon the sixth book. See *Freinsh. ad* lib. x. cap. 34.

• Plutarch tells us, p. 38, "that he bestowed upon Porus a large province of some free people whom he had newly conquered, which consisted of several nations, and contained 5000 considerable towns, besides abundance of villages."—Had Plutarch undertaken to have wrote complete Histories, none would perhaps have been more exact in particulars; as that was not his busi-

ness, we cannot expect accuracy from him.

† Curtius calls him Sophitis, contrary to Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1024, Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 561, and Arrian: and Raderus thinks he gave him that name in respect to his wisdom, though Freinshemius will not allow him to have been master of so much acuteness. However, Curtius has placed this expedition against Sophitis before the armies' embarkation. He tells us abundance of the good qualities of the inhabitants, and gives us an account of "some notable hunting-dogs in that country, lib. ix. cap. 1, 31, which have a strange antipathy to lions, four of which being let loose upon a lion, an officer took one of them, which had fastened upon the beast, and cut off one of his legs, then another, and continued still to hack and mangle him till he had killed him, yet was the dog so obstinate that he would not quit his hold, but left his teeth sticking in the beast."—This I humbly submit to the decision of a lawful convention of Whitechapel butchers and others of our Bear-Garden gentry. However, immediately after he has told us this story (which has no improbability in it, and (governor of a province beyond the river Indus, edjacent to Bactria) was commanded to follow them in three days with all his forces. The Niscean horse was sent home. Nearchus was appointed admiral over the whole navy, and Onesicritus captain of that single ship where the king was; who, notwithstanding, in his History of Alexander, falsely assumes the title of admiral, when he was in reality no more than commander of the royal galley. The number of triremes which composed this navy (according to Ptoletny's account, which I chiefly adhere to) was about eighty; but the whole number of vessels, those employed for horses and others, built them as well as before, amounted to near two thousand.

CHAPTER III.

All things being then ready for his intended voyage, the army about break of day embarked on board. He in the mean while, by the direction of his augurs, offered sacrifices to the gods and to the river Hydaspes, after the custom of his country; and then entering his ship, stood upon the prow, and pouring a libation out of a golden cup, invocated the Acesines as well as the Hydaspes, being informed that that river flowed into the Hydaspes not far from thence; as also the Indus, because both these, when united, fall into that river: and when he had afterwards sacrificed to Hercules and Hammon and other gods, according to custom, he immediately ordered a signal to be given his

which is confirmed by Strabo, Dioderus, Ælian, Pliny, and Pletarch), a sudden quaim comes over him, and he adds, "I write more than I believe; for I can heither endure to affirm any thing confidently when I doubt of the truth thereof, nor deprive my readers of what I have heard." This paragraph, which he has thrown away here to no manner of purpose, would have done him excellent service had he kept it till the conclusion of his book; for then he inight have told at many lies more, and have brought himself cleverly off at last.

by sound of trumpet, for the ships to move, and they shoved accordingly. For it was already agreed at what distance the store-ships should keep from those which carried the horses, and these from the ships of war, lest, if they proceeded without due order, they should be dashed one against another; nor were the best sailers suffered to go out of their ranks, nor the slowest to lag behind. It was wonderful to hear the clashing of the oars of such a mighty number of ships at the same instant, as also the shouts of the rowers, and the commands of their officers, which the banks. often higher than the ships themselves, and the thick woods on each side the river, so increased by compression and repercussion, that the Barbarians on all hands were struck with the utmost surprise thereat: and what added to their wonder, was their seeing borses embarked on board a fleet, which was so unusual a sight (for the expedition of Bacchus into that country was by land) that they followed the ships a vast way down the river. As many also of the more remote Indians as were in friendship with Alexander, and heard the clashing of the oars and the shouts of the rowers, came flocking to the banks of the river, and sang songs after their country manner. For the Indians, above all other nations, have delighted in music and dancing, ever since the time that Dionysius and his Bacchanals were among them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE fleet, sailing in the above-mentioned order, arrived on the third day at the place where Alexander had ordered Craterus and Hephæstion to encamp* on

One might think, that if Curtius wrote never so little about this famous voyage of Alexander down the Hydaspes, he might be careful to give us what was truth; but, by reading his relation thereof, a man would almost be tempted to believe that he wrote falsities on purpose. "Alexander," he says, lib. ix. cap. 3, 24,

each side of the river, where they tarried two days, to wait for Philip with the rest of the army; whom he forthwith dispatched, with the forces which he brought, to the Acesines, commanding him to lead his troops along the bank of that river. He also once more dispatched Craterus and Hephæstion upon a fresh expedition, and marked out the route they were to take. He, in the mean time, prosecuted his voyage down the river Hydaspes, which he never found less than twenty furlongs wide: and wherever he approached the banks and came on shore, the Indians of those places either paid him a voluntary obedience, or were reduced by force of arms. Then he steered directly against the Malli and Oxydracæ, having received intelligence that the inhabitants of these countries were both numerous and warlike, and that they had secured their wives and children in fortified places, with a design to meet him and his forces in the plain, and give him battle; and he made so much the more haste thither, because he hoped to crush them

" having given orders that the elephants and baggage, and other cumbersome things, should be conveyed after him, by land, sailed down the stream about forty furlongs each day."-This is every tittle false; for first, Craterus and Hephæstion, to whom the elephants were committed, with all the forces under their command, were two days march before the fleet, almost at the very first setting out. Secondly, It is much more probable that the greatest part of the baggage was put on board, it being far easier to convey it by water than by land. Thirdly, Had they sailed no more than forty furlongs each day, they had not reached the island of Pattala at the mouth of the river Indus in seven months, as Plutarch, p. 40, edit. Steph. tells us they did; nor in ten neither, according to Strabo's account, lib. xv., even though they had continued their course every day, which we find they did not; for they went often on shore, and made several excursions, and tarried sometimes in one place a great while together. For these reasons Freinshemius imagines it should have been four hundred furlongs, instead of forty, which makes fifty miles. But had he considered that the army on each side of the river was to keep pace with the fleet, perhaps he would have thought fifty English miles too far to march in a day, especially when they were to continue their march for several days together.

before they could come together in a body, for as yet they were busied in making preparations for war. He therefore moved thence, and on the fifth day came to the place where the Hydaspes flows into the river Acesines; and the banks being close and the channel narrow where these two rivers join, the current * is

* Curtius tells us a strange story of a citadel, lib. ix. cap. 4, 8. "which," he says, " was built at the confluence of three of the greatest rivers in India, except Ganges, viz. the Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus."-Where be had this account is not known, because his great oracle Diodorus says no such thing: However, that it is false is apparent; for though the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines here, yet the Acesines loses its waters in the river Indus a vast way below: And that he meant this meeting of the Acesines and Hydaspes is certain, because he adds that "the meeting of so many rivers causes a very rough water, which rises in waves like the sea; by the violence of which, such heaps of sand and mud are cast up, that the channel is forced into a narrow space; so that the mariners, seeing the waves come rolling so fast upon them, and their vessels so violently beaten by them both ahead and on each side, began to pull in toward the shore; but their endeavours were prevented, partly by their fear and partly by the rapidity of the rivers; so that two of their biggest ships sunk before their eyes, and the lesser ones, being no longer governable, were by good luck driven a-ground without any damage."—He afterwards makes the royal galley in great danger, and the king himself just upon the point of jumping over-board into the water;—but that is no more than a rhetorical flourish; and as for all the rest, it bears a certain glimmering ray or faint resemblance of truth, and that is the most that can be said of it. For, in the first place, where the channel is narrow, the water cannot rise up into waves, as he there intimates, it being either the great breadth and depth of the water which causes the wind to hoist it up with such violence, or the meeting of the wind and tide, but no tide comes near that place. Arrian has ascribed this justly to the eddies, which are always the most violent where the channel is narrow, especially if the course of the river be not straight. Secondly, Curtius has stumbled upon the right by mere chance, when he says, lib. ix. cap. 4, 11, "The king's vessel fell among the rapid whirlpools, where being entangled, &c."-But if he had been endued with one ounce of judgment, he would have considered that eddies or whirlpools are caused by the violence of the stream in a crooked channel, or the confluence of rivers confined in narrow banks, as was the case here; whereas waves are raised by the winds beating strong upon a wide or deep lake or river; or the meeting of wind and tide, as has been intimated before.

by that means extremely rapid, and the prodigious eddies, caused by the rebounding waters, make such a loud noise as is heard in places at a vast distance. Those things were told to Alexander and his soldiers by the inhabitants a long time before they approached them, that their surprise might be the less; notwithstanding which, when they drew nigh, the rushing noise of the two uniting streams so filled the ears of the rowers, that they laid down their oars, not by any particular order, but because their commanders themselves, astonished at an object so strange and full of horror, ceased to give necessary directions.

CHAPTER V.

But when they reassumed their courage, the masters of the ships ordered the rowers to use their utmost strength to get out of these streights, and by the force of their oars break the violence of the waters, lest they should be sucked in and swallowed up by the eddies. Some vessels indeed, of a round form, which happened to be thus drawn in, received no other damage besides the extreme fright of the crews they contained, and immediately continued their course; but the long ships, whose sides were not so strong as to endure the force of the contending waves, received much more harm in the conflict, and especially the biremes, whose lower bank of oars was but a little above the surface of the water; for when they were hurried with a full broadside into the eddy, and could not lift up their oars, they were broke by the fury of the waves: many of them were shattered in this man-

Thirdly, whereas Curtius says, that "two of the biggest ships of the whole fleet sunk before their eyes;" I would ask what sort of ships these were? Diodorus and Arrian call them only two long vessels; and so in all probability would Curtius too, had be not thought the other sounded better; and as for truth, he did not much regard it.

ner; two were dashed in pieces against each other, and most of the soldiers which were on board perished. But when the channel began to open, the stream to run smoother, and the eddies to be less violent. Alexander caused his fleet to steer towards the shore on the right hand, where was the best shelter, it being a sort of a bay, which a rock made by shooting out There he gathered his shattered vesinto the river. sels together, and took care of the few who were found alive on board: then having refitted, he ordered Nearchus to proceed in his course to the country of the Malli. He in the mean while making an excursion into the territories of the Barbarians, who refused to submit to his power, crushed them, that they might not be able to assist the Malli, and then returned to his fleet, where he found Craterus, Hephastion, and Philip, with all their forces. Then having conveyed his elephants and Polyperchon's troops, with the equestrian archers and Philip, across the river, and given the command of them to Craterus, he sent away Nearchus, his admiral, with orders to sail down the river, to be three days march before the army. The rest of his forces he divided into three parts, ordering Hephæstion with his party to march five days before him; that if any should fly away at his approach, and betake themselves to the utmost limits of the country for safety, they should fall into the hands of Hephæ-Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with his forces. was ordered to tarry three days behind him, that whoever fled from him, and got behind his army, should be surprised by Ptolemy and his party. He also ordered those who went before, that when they arrived at the confluence of the rivers Acesines and Hydraotes, they should wait for his coming, and until Ptolemy and Craterus, with their parties, also arrived.

CHAPTER VI.

THEN * taking with him the targeteers, archers, Agrians, and Python's troop, which consisted of those called the auxiliary foot, with the equestrian archers and half the auxiliary horse, he marched through a desert country against the Malli, and the first day pitched his tents on the banks of a small rivulet, about a hundred furlongs distant from the river Acesines. Having there allowed his troops a little time for refreshment and rest, he ordered every one to fill all his vessels with water; which done, he continued his march the remaining part of that day and all night, and early the next morning arrived at a city, whither many of the Malli had fled for refuge; and this was about four hundred furlongs distant from the Acesines. The Malli, never once imagining that Alexander would attempt to march through such a desolate country, were all unarmed and scattered about the fields, whom therefore he surprised on a sudden, and slew many before they could prepare for a defence; the rest fled into the city, and shut their gates. Whereupon he immediately surrounded the walls with his horse, for his foot were not yet come up; but when they arrived, he dispatched Perdiccas with his own and Clitus's horse, besides the Agrians, to hasten to another city of

^{*} Curtius has entirely omitted this whole chapter; for I cannot find any passage in his History, which has the least resemblance with it, unless he means these people by his Sobians, lib. ix. cap. 4, 1, where he says, "Alexander landed his forces, and marched two hundred and fifty furlongs up the country; which when he had laid waste, he took the capital city thereof."—But his description is so loose and general, that it may almost serve for any other march, or any siege, as well as that for which it was designed. I shall therefore draw no inferences from a comparison between any such passages, in the two authors which seem to quadrate with one another, because I cannot be sure they both treat of the same action.

the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety; and withal ordered them only to block them up, but by no means attempt to storm the place until he arrived: he warned them, however, to take care that none should escape out of the city, to spread the story of his arrival through the country. He then began to assault the city; whereupon the Barbarians forsook the walls, being assured they could not hold the place out any time. However, many were slain in the attack, and many more wounded and rendered unserviceable; upon which they abandoned the city, and retired into the castle; and that, as being seated upon an eminence difficult of access, they held for some time. But when the Macedonians pressed them on all hands, and Alexander himself pushed on the siege with vigour, the castle was carried by storm, and the Barbarians who had fled thither, to the number of two thousand, were all slain. Perdiccas, marching to the city which he was commanded to besiege, found it quite dismantled. But when he came to understand that the inhabitants had not been long fled, he immediately resolved to pursue them; and sending his light horse after them with all imaginable expedition, they overtook very many, and slew them; the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring marshy places, and thereby saved their lives.

CHAPTER VII.

ALEXANDER having allowed his soldiers some time for refreshment and rest, about the first watch of the night set forwards; and marching hard all that night, came to the river Hydraotes about day-light; and understanding that some parties of the Malli * were just

^{*} We are told by Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 4, 5, that "another nation (but who, he names not) had placed forty thousand foot on the river's side."—By which river he must undoubtedly mean the Acesines; but we may either pardon or pass by his geogra-

passing the river, he immediately attacked them, and slew many; and having passed the river himself with his forces, in pursuit of those who had gained the further side, he killed vast numbers of them, and took many prisoners. However, some of them escaped, and betook themselves for safety to a certain town, well fortified both by art and nature. Alexander waited for the arrival of his foot, and then dispatched Python against them, with his own troop and two conhorts of horse, who gaining the place at the first assault, took all prisoners, whom they slew not, and soon after returned to the camp. Alexander then led his army against a certain city of the Brachmans,*

phical errors, if he would abstain from others.—These "were placed there to oppose him; notwithstanding which, he passed the river, and forced them to fly into a walled town, which he took by storm; putting all the men to the sword, and selling the rest."

* Curtius has given us some loose hints of this action: for "Alexander," he says, lib. ix. cap. 4, 6, "going to force another city, was repulsed, and lost many of his men."—But how many he tells us not .-- "However, when the townsmen saw that he obstinately resolved to continue the siege, despairing of safety, they set fire to their houses, and burnt themselves, and their wives and children." Then, after two or three unnecessary inferences, he proceeds to show us, lib.,ix. cap. 4, 8, " that there was a citadel which the flames had not touched, whose situation was remarkable for the three greatest rivers in India which surrounded it." -This must be false; for, in the first place, the townsmen would never have burnt themselves, with their wives and children, in the town, and have left the citadel untouched; that was the last asylum, or place of strength for them to retire to, in their greatest necessity, when the town was no longer tenable. But, says some body, perhaps they could not retire to it; because Curtius immediately afterwards adds, that Alexander attempted to sail round it, and it being so environed with water, the town and citadel might have no communication with each other. To which I answer, That Curtius's description of this citadel is false on several accounts: For first, the three great rivers which he there talks of, do not meet together at all, as has been shown before. Secondly, to talk of a citadel which has no communication with the city to which it belongs, is nonsense. It might as well have been placed at fifty miles distance from it. Thirdly, Arrian has plainly told us, that the citadel had a communication with the city, and that the citizens retired to it, and set it, and not the city, on fire, when where, he heard, another body of the Malli had fled. When he arrived there, he drew his forces every where close up to the wall; whereupon the defendants seeing their walls undermined, and themselves galled with darts from the Macedonians, abandoned the city and fied to the castle, hoping to defend themselves there: and a few of the Macedonians too rashly attempting to pursue, they turned back upon them, and slew twenty-five of them, and beat the rest back. In the mean while Alexander lost no time, but ordered his scaling-ladders to be fixed to the castle walls, and the walls to be undermined; which done, when one of the towers fell down, and a part of the adjoining wall was shattered, and afforded an easy entrance, he first mounted the breach himself, and attempted to storm the castle; upon which the Macedonians, ashamed at their backwardness, one after another climbed over the wall. Thus was the castle won: however some of the Indians, seeing the place ready to be taken, set fire to their own houses, and perished in the flames; others were slain in the assault: about five thousand of them fell during the siege of that city; and so great was their valour, that few came alive into the enemy's hands.

they could not keep it any longer. And lastly, the citadel itself was so far from being seated at the confluence of all the three rivers he there mentions, that it was not near any of them, it being situate beyond the river Hydraotis; and instead of three great rivers, had not, in all probability, one river near it. Curtius next proceeds to give us an account of a sedition which arose among the soldiers against Alexander, where, among other things, they complained, lib. ix. cap. 4, 18, that "he had drawn them beyond the very stars and sun, and forced them to advance to those places which Nature had removed out of sight: that mists. and darkness, and a perpetual night brooded upon the face of the deep: that the sea swarmed with monsters; its waters were immovable, and that there Nature breathed her last."-This ridiculous, senseless, and incoherent stuff could never have dropt from the pen of a grave historian, or one who had the least notion of geography. Most of his commentators have taken notice of this place, particularly Mr. Le Clerc, in the Criticism prefixed to this work: for which reason I shall say no more about it,

CHAPTER VIII.

HAVING tarried one day there, to refresh his army, he then directed his march against others of the same nation, who, he was informed, had abandoned their cities, and retired into the deserts; and taking another day's rest, on the next he commanded Python, and Demetrius a captain of a troop of horse, with the forces they then had, and a party of light-armed foot, to return immediately to the river, and if they found any of those who had taken shelter in the adjacent woods, to put them to the sword if they refused to This they accordingly performed, and many Indians were there slain. In the mean while he led his forces to the capital city of the Malli, whither, he was informed, many of the inhabitants of other cities had fled for their better security. even this place was dismantled by the Indians (upon Alexander's approach), who crossing the river Hydraotis, drew up their forces upon the bank thereof, which was steep and difficult of ascent, as though they would have obstructed his passage; which he receiving intelligence of, immediately led his horse to that part of the river where they stood, commanding his foot to follow; and when he arrived there, and saw the enemy's army posted on the opposite bank, he made no delay, but instantly entered the river with the troops of horse he brought with him. The Indians, seeing him and his forces now in the middle of the river, retired hastily, yet orderly, from the bank, and were pursued by Alexander; but when they perceived that their pursuers were only a party of horse, they faced about, and resolved to give him battle, being about fifty thousand in number.* He, seeing the

^{* &}quot;Alexander," according to Curtius, "marched from the aforementioned city, at the confluence of the three rivers, thirty furlongs, and then entered the country of the Oxydracæ and

firm and close order of their army, and considering that he had no foot-forces, resolved only to ride round them, and gall them at a distance, but not to venture a close engagement: but in the mean while the Agrians and archers, and others of his choicest light-armed foot, having passed the river, came to his aid; and a phalanx of foot appeared at a small distance: whereupon the Indians, growing diffident of their own strength, betook themselves to flight, and retired into a certain fortified city,* not far off; but Alexander pursuing them, slew many, and the rest being enclosed, he first environed them with his horse; but when the foot arrived, he pitched his tents, and besieged them in form; and as the day was now too far spent to begin an assault, his foot, wearied with

Malli, who, though before at war, were now, by reason of their common danger, joined together."—His errors in geography I pass by, these are incurable; and as to his saying that the Oxydracæ and Malli had joined together, if he means no more than that they had entered into a league together, he may be right; but if he means that they joined their forces together, he maintains a falsity; for Arrian assures us, that the Oxydracæ did indeed design to have joined their forces with the Malli, but Alexander, by a long march through a desert country, invaded the Malli, and entirely subdued them, before the Oxydracæ could come to their assistance. Curtius says they were nine thousand foot (which some of his editors being ashamed of, have made it stinety thousand) and ten thousand horse, besides nine hundred chariots.

""They came," says Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 4, 26, "to the city of the Oxydracæ."—This, indeed, Arrian tells us, was the vulgar notion, however false. But he has sufficiently exposed the error in the eleventh chapter of this book; and so has Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1026. Lucian, indeed, in his Dialogues of the Dead, and Pausanias in his Attecks, incline to the vulgar opinion. But Plutarch, Strabo, and Arrian, who have given the best accounts thereof, are against them. Justin tells us, lib. xii. cap. 9, "that he marched against the Ambri and Sugambri, who opposed him with eighty thousand foot and six thousand horse."—By these Ambri and Sugambri, his commentators say, can be meant no other people but the Malli and Oxydracæ; the first of which nations Diodorus calls Ambricæ; and Pliny, the last, Sydracæ; Orosius names them Mandri and Subagræ. Vide Bongarsii Comment. ad Justin. p. 121.

a long march, and his horse, harassed with a continued pursuit as well as a difficult passage over the river, he resolved to give them a little rest the remaining part of the day.

CHAPTER IX.

On the morrow, having divided his forces, he took the command of one part of the army himself, and having given the other to Perdiccas, attacked the walls; and when the defendants were unable to endure the violence thereof, they fled, and retired into the castle.* Alexander with his forces, having burst open one of the gates of the city, entered, and took possession thereof, a long time before the rest. Perdiccas and his party no sooner mounted the walls, (for many of them had not yet recovered their ladders,) than they perceived the city taken, because the walls were left defenceless. However, the besieged having entered the castle, and being resolutely bent to hold it, some of the Macedonians endeavoured to undermine the walls, others to scale them, and accordingly busied themselves in fixing their ladders wherever they could, with design to storm the place. But Alexander, not brooking their

^{*} We have not one word of a castle or citadel in Curtius, but he talks all along as if they were attacking the city. Justin tells us, lib. xii. cap. 9, that "Alexander having leapt from the walls to the inside of the city, found it deserted by those who were to have defended it."-Orosius, who copied from Justin, has mended the matter a little; for he says, that "when Alexander first mounted the walls, he imagined that the city was deserted, therefore he leaped down, on the inside, without a guard." -However, both of these assertions are false; for that the citadel, which they mistook for the city, was not deserted, Alexander soon found to his cost; and that he could not so much as think it deserted, is evident because his enemies attacked him so warmly upon the walls, that even Curtius tells us, lib. ix. cap. 5, 1, whis own men cried out to him to leap down to them on the outside, and they would stand ready to receive him as he should fall."-He has made a most romantic story of the whole; and, indeed, it is improbable he weald suffer so excellent an opportunity of displaying his talent at rhetoric to slip through his fingers.

slow proceedings, snatched a ladder out of the hands of one of the soldiers, and applying it to the wall, imprediately mounted, having guarded his body with his shield. Peucestas followed his steps, bearing the consecrated shield, which Alexander had taken out of the temple of the Trojan Pallas, and ordered to be borne before him in all his battles: after him, Leonatus ascended by the same ladder; and Abreas (one who received a double stipend, on account of former services) by another. And now Alexander, having gained the top of the battlements, and fixed his shield for defence, drove some of the defendants headlong down into the castle, and slew others with his sword,

* Curtius gives us a story of three whole pages, of what Alexander performed before any came to his assistance; one particular of which is, lib. ix. cap. 5, 4, " that leaping down from the top of the wall, among the thickest of his enemies, he had certainly been surrounded, had not fortune favoured him; for hard by the wall was an old tree (vetusta arbor), which spread out large branches on each side, well clothed with leaves, &c .- against the trank of which he placed his back."-I wonder how Curtius come to call this an old tree, when it spread out such large branches, and was so well clothed with leaves; we usually call à tree old, when the sap ceasing to ascend, the trunk becomes dry and rotten, and the boughs bare, so that neither bark nor leaf are to be seen. Had he called this a large tree, he might have been pardoned; but, by his description, it will never pass for an old one. However, I can see no occasion there was for any tree at all; for as Alexander leaped down from the wall, he could not be far from it; and suppose he only set his back against it, would it not have saved him from being enclosed as well as the trunk of the old tree? I can see no reason why it should not, and better too. Diodorus and Justin give us the story of the tree, but say nothing of its age. Curtius says, lib. ix. cap. 3, 32, " that after Alexander alone had mounted the walls, his soldiers could not approach to help him, because they were so plied from above with darts and arrows."-If so, how did Alexander himself mount? He felt none of them until he gained the top, and when he had gained it, he drove the greatest part of the defendants down headlong on the inside, and the rest, who were out of his reach, busied themselves in discharging their artillery at him. The truth is, Alexander, and Peucestas, and Leonnatus, ascended by one ludder, and Abreas by another, and the targeteers crowding, in too great numbers, to mount after their king, broke the ladders, so that no more besides these four could then mount.

insomuch that he cleared the place where he stood. But the royal targeteers, being solicitous for their king. and endeavouring to ascend in too great numbers. broke the ladders, and thereby not only fell down themselves, but hindered others from mounting. lexander in the mean time stood as a mark for all the Indians who were in the adjacent towers, for none of them durst venture to come so near him as to fight hand to hand; and those within the castle also cast their darts at him, but at some distance; for the Indians had thrown up a rampart there within the wall, where they stood, and they easily perceived who he was, both by the brightness of his armour and the greatness of his courage. However, he resolved (rather than to continue exposed in that station, where nothing was to be done worthy notice) to cast himself directly into the castle, imagining that such an action would strike a terror into the besieged, or at least it would add greatly to his glory, and if he died there, he should gain the admiration and applause of posterity; upon which he immediately leaped down into the castle, where fixing himself against the wall, some of the enemy, who rushed forwards upon him, he slew with his sword, and among the rest the Indian general; others, as they advanced towards him, he smote with stones, and beat them back; but upon their second, and nigher approach, he slew them also with his sword: so that the Barbarians durst now no more attempt to come within his reach, but gathering about him, at some distance, threw their darts, and such other weapons, at him, as they had, or could find, from that station.

CHAPTER X.

PEUCESTAS, Abreas,* and Leonnatus were the only three persons, of the whole Macedonian army, who

^{*} I am mistaken if this Abreas be not the same whom Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 5, 15, mentions by the name of Timæus; and Plu-

mounted the castle-wall before the ladders broke; and they leaped down on the inside, and valiantly fought to save their king. Abreas was wounded in the face with an arrow, and fell down dead. Alexander's breast-plate was pierced through with an arrow, whereby he received a wound in the breast, which, Ptolemy says, was so dangerous, that, by the vast effusion of blood, his life was despaired of: nevertheless, so long as he was hot, he retained his innate courage, and defended himself valiantly; but the blood streaming from him, and his spirits sinking, he was seized with a dizziness in his head, and a chillness throughout his limbs, whereupon he fell forward upon his shield. Peucestas then, with the sacred shield of Pallas, stood by the king, and protected him from the enemy's darts on the one side, as did Leonnatus on the other; but they were also sore wounded, and

tarch, p. 39, by that of Limnæus; both of them own that he fell in endeavouring to save his master at this place. The Aristonus, whom Curtius takes notice of, as one who entered with Peucestas. Leonnatus, and Timæus, may perhaps be the same whom Arrian mentions as one of the king's body-guards, in the 27th chapter of this book, by the name of Aristonus, the son of Pisæus, the Pellæan. However, no author, besides himself, tells us any thing of his entering the town with the other three. When Curtius has suffered Alexander to lean against an old tree, and fight for three whole pages, he tells us, lib. ix. cap. 5, 15, that "Peucestas beat the defendants off the wall, and entered the city on the other side, and after him Timæus, then Leonnatus, and last of all Aristonus, and that they keeping the tract, which led close by the wall, came to the king's aid."—Now I would gladly know how these four entered: If they burst open a gate, why could not four thousand have entered, as well as four? If they climbed up the wall, were none among the whole army so good at climbing as they? The ladders were all broke before, according to his own account. And again, when those four entered, one by one, on the other side, wherever that side was, the defendants (had they not been drunk or asleep) might have done their business, one might think, before they could have reached the place where the king was. However, we need be in no great pain upon that account, for Arrian has cleared up all those doubts, by assuring us, that they mounted the wall immediately after Alexander, and in the same place, before the ladders broke.

Alexander was very nigh losing his blood and life together. The Macedonians without, were in the utmost anxiety how they should ascend the walls and get to. the inside of the castle, fearing lest their king, who had rashly exposed himself, by scaling the walls and leaping down among the enemy, should be in danger; and their ladders being broke, they used all their skill to contrive other ways to mount: whereupon some of them drove large iron pins into the wall, (which was built with brick,) and taking hold of those, hoisted themselves up with great difficulty; others mounted upon the shoulders of their companions, and so gained the top: however, he who ascended first, leaped down on the other side, and saw the king lying prostrate; and afterwards, others following, with dreadful shouts and lamentations, a sharp battle ensued. they endeavouring with all their might to save their king, by covering him with their shields. In the mean while, others having torn off the bars,* and forced open a gate between two towers, made way for their companions to enter; and a part of the wall giving way to the violent shocks of some others, opened a new passage into the castle.

CHAPTER XI.

A MIGHTY slaughter of the Indians then ensued; every soul which was found being cut off, and not

* When the whole body of the Macedonian army, as Curtius has told the story, lib. ix. cap. 5, 19, "heard that the king was dead; without the least regard to danger they fell to work and broke the wall down with pick-axes, and so entered the city."—He should have said, the castle; for the city was taken at the first assault, a long time before. However, I wonder how they came to be so silly as to stand humming and hawing so long (when they knew their king was in the utmost danger), and never thought of their pick-axes all the while. This story is as unlikely as any of the rest of his relating; and Arrian's plain manner of telling it is infinitely more natural.

so much as the women or children spared. The Macedonians then turned their thoughts on their king, whom they bore away upon his shield, not knowing whether he would die or live. Some authors relate, that Critodemus,* a physician of Coos, laid open his wound and drew out the arrow: others, that Perdiccas performed that task, no physician being present, and the case urgent; for Alexander commanded that the wound should be opened, though with a sword, and the dart drawn out of his body. However, he lost abundance of blood in the operation; and when he again fainted away, that very syncope, or swooning-fit, which then seized him, stopped the effusion of blood, and saved his life. Many other things are related concerning this accident by historians, which, having their first foundation laid in falsehood, have been transmitted by romancers to our times, and are likely to be handed down to posterity, unless an end be put to this way of writing. That this misfortune happened to Alexander among the Oxydracæ† is the valgar notion;

^{*} Curtius calls him Critobolus, lib. ix. cap. 5, 25, and tells us a prodigious long story of his drawing out the arrow; as also what discourse passed between him and the physician, which, if it were genuine, is little to the purpose, and as it is not, is not worth remarking.

[†] Curtius is one of those remancing authors whom Arrian takes notice of, or at least those from whom Cartius extracted his materials; for no author whatever makes the least mention of Curtius's History before the twelfth century; for which reason many have suspected the work to have been done by some medern, a little before that time, and an ancient name placed before it, to give a sort of sanction to the fallacy. However, whether he be ancient or modern, I neither know nor care. There have been thousands of wise men, and millions of fools, both ancient and modern; and therefore I think it concerns not me to be so inquisitive, whether his work be old or new, or whether it be good or bad. Curtius has made Alexander receive this wound among the Oxydracæ. He has also placed the last battle with Darius at Arbela, and run into a vast number of absurdities on that account, as may be perceived by reading the Comment upon that part.

which nevertheless was among the Malli, one of the free nations of India. For the city belonged to that people, and it was from that people he received the wound. The Malli indeed designed to have joined their forces with the Oxydracæ, and so to have given him battle; but Alexander's hasty and unexpected. march through the dry and barren waste, prevented. their union, so that they could not give any assistance to each other. In the same manner, the last battle with Darius (from whence he took his flight, and continued it from place to place, till he was seized by Bessus, and slain upon Alexander's approach) is as confidently reported to have been fought at Arbela, as the preceding one was at Issus, and the first equestrian battle at the river Granicus. The first equestrian battle really happened on the banks of the river Granicus, as did the other at Issus; but Arbela is distant, from the field where this last battle was fought, six hundred, or at least five hundred furlongs. For both Ptolemy and Aristobulus assure us, that the scene of this last action with Darius was at Gaugamela upon the river Bumelus. And whereas Gaugamela was only an obscure village, and the sound of its name not grateful to the ear, the glory of that battle has been conferred on Arbela, as the chief city of these parts. But if this battle may be said to have been fought at Arbela, which was really fought at so great a distance from it, why may not the naval action at Salamis be ascribed to the Corinthian Isthmus, or that at Artemesius, in the island Eubœa, to Ægina, or Sunium. But to return: Even the names of those who saved Alexander from the enemy's fury, by covering him with their shields, are diversly given: that Peucestas was one, all authors agree; but not so concerning Leonnatus, nor Abreas. Again, some writers tell us, that Alexander having received a blow with a club * upon his helmet, a mist came over his

^{*} This Plutarch gives us, p. 39. "Alexander," says he, "among many other wounds, received so weighty a stroke upon

eyes, and he fell down; but recovering his spirits and rising again, his breast-plate was pierced with an arrow, and he was wounded; though Ptolemy assures us he was only wounded in the breast. But the writers of Alexander's life have grossly erred, who report, that Ptolemy * the son of Lagus mounted the ladder to scale the wall along with Alexander and Peucestas, and that he was one of those who protected the king with his shield, when he lay prostrate; and on that account received the name of Soter, or Saviour; for he himself assures us, that he was not present at that siege, but was dispatched at that time on an expedition against other Indians elsewhere. This digression I have made, that the writers of history may be more careful in relating the particular circumstances of great actions, and inquire more narrowly into the truth of whatever they deliver to posterity.

CHAPTER XII.

WHILE the king † lay there to wait for the healing of his wound, news was carried to the camp, from

his neck with a club, that he was forced to lean his body against the wall; yet nevertheless he still looked undaunted upon his enemies."

After I have noted so many errors in Curtius, I hope my readers will allow me to assure them he is once in the right; it is strange, I own, but miracles are not ceased. He tells us, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21, "That, according to Clitarchus and Timagenes, Ptolemy, who after reigned, was present at this fight; but he himself (who would never have contradicted any thing which would have redounded so much to his own honour, had it been true,) assures us, he was then absent on an expedition elsewhere."

†"The king," says Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 6, 1, "had not been above seven days under cure, and the wound was not yet closed up nor skinned over, when hearing it was strongly reported among the Barbarians that he was dead, he caused a pavilion to be erected upon two ships fastened together, &c., by which means being seen by the inhabitants of the country, he dashed the hopes of his enemies, which had arisen from that false news.

whence he set out on that expedition, that he was dead; upon which a sudden cry ran throughout the camp, as the report spread from one to another; and when they came a little to themselves, and began to set bounds to their grief, they were strangely perplexed, and in great doubt who should be chosen to head the army (for many seemed to have equal pretence to that dignity, by their merit, not only in Alexander's opinion, but also in that of the Macedonians), and how they should be led safe into their own country, being surrounded with so many fierce and war-

After which he fell down the stream, but commanded the rest of his fleet to keep at some distance, that his repose might not be disturbed by the noise of their oars."-Here are many errors conched in a little room. Curtius has already told us, that the country of the Oxydracæ was but thirty furloags from the confluence of the three great rivers, as he calls them, viz. the Hydas-pes, Acesines, and Indus, which he now undoubtedly supposes all united into one stream, by the name of Indus; and that this city was nigh the place where his whole fleet lay. Upon this false supposition, he tells us, "That the king had not been above seven days under cure, &c."-In the first place, That city was not nigh any of these three rivers, but the Hydraotes, and not upon the banks of that neither. Secondly, Alexander was not on board during the time his wound was under cure, but in his tent, or perhaps in the city, which he was now master of. Thirdly, It is not very probable he should stir out in seven days, nor before his wound was pretty well healed up. Arrian here seems to hint as if he tarried there a great while, even till he was thoroughly cured. And Plutarch says, p. 39, "That after all danger was over, he still continued very weak, and confined himself to a regular diet a great while."-Fourthly, When he ventured on board, it was not where his fleet lay, but on board some ship which was then in the river Hydraotes, and so sailed down the stream to his fleet, which then lay at the confluence of that river and the Acesines. Fifthly, The report of his death was not among the Barbarians or Indians, for that could not have done him much injury, but it was spread among the Macedonians, and his own people, which caused him to make as much haste as his health would permit, to show himself among them, for fear of an insurrection.—All these blunders he has committed within the compass of almost so many lines. He is lavish of them here, and prodigal, even to a fault. If he goes on at this rate, he may chance to run out his whole stock of lies, and be forced at last to speak truth, in spite of his strongest inclinations to the contrary.

like nations; some whereof, whom they had not yet visited, would, in all probability, fight stoutly for their liberty; and others, whom they had, would revolt, when they were freed from the fear of Alexan-Besides, when they began to consider how many vast rivers were between them and their country, which they were no ways able to pass over, they were almost driven to despair; and indeed every thing seemed terrible to them, when they wanted their king: and even when the former accounts were contradicted, and news came of his being still alive, the messenger could hardly find credit; for they had before heard that there were but small hopes of his life: nav, when letters arrived, signifying that he' would return to the camp in a short while, the news seemed incredible to many, by reason of the excessive fear which possessed them; for they supposed that the letters had been no more than a contrivance of his body-guards and the generals of his army.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHEN Alexander came to the knowledge of this, he began to fear that an insurrection might happen; for which reason, as soon as his health would admit, he ordered himself to be conveyed to the banks of the river Hydraotes, and from thence down the stream to the camp, which was nigh the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines, where Hephæstion had the command of the army, and Nearchus of the navy. When the ship which had the king on board approached in view of the camp, he ordered the cover of his royal pavilion to be hoisted upon the poop thereof, to be seen by the whole army. But neither yet did many believe him to be alive, but that the ship was bringing his dead body; till at last he drew near the shore, and stretched out his right hand to the multitude. Then a loud shout was raised for joy: some holding up their hands to heaven; others to their king; and many, who despaired of his life, melting into tears, by such a sudden and unexpected joy. And when the targeteers, upon his coming on shore, brought the bed or litter whereon he had been carried before, he refused it, and ordered his horse to be made ready, which having mounted, he again received the joyful acclamations of the whole army, . the banks and neighbouring woods echoing with the sound. When he approached his tent, he leaped from his horse, and showed himself also to his army on foot, to give them the greater certainty of his health. Then arose a general emulation among them, and they strove which should approach nighest to him; and some were ambitious to touch his hands, others his knees; others aspired no higher than his garments; and some were even satisfied with a sight of him, and with wishing him health and happiness; some brought garlands, and others flowers, such as the country produced, to strew in his way: and when some of his friends reproved him * for exposing himself to

^{*} Curtius has given us one of those speeches, which he puts into the mouth of Craterus, and makes him prolocutor for the rest. There are some passages, both of that and of Alexander's answer, so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear presenting my reader with them, as a pattern of that author's judgment. "Do you think, sir," says Craterus to the king, lib. ix. cap. 6, 6, "that we should be more concerned at the arrival of an army of enemies within our trenches, than for the recovery of your health? Let all the nations in the world come against us, with the greatest force they can raise; let them fill the whole earth with arms and men, cover all seas with ships, and oppose us with the most monstrous and unheard-of beasts, yet you will make us victorious over them."-And then, a little after, he adds, "Which of us, after your death, would desire to live? Or which of us could survive you, if we would?"-Well, Alexander undoubtedly believed all this; for he answers, or Curtius for him, "That he returned them all hearty thanks for the affection expressed to him that day;" and (when he had remembered them of the victories he had won) adds, "I now possess all Asia, from the Hellespont to the Red Sea, and am advanced not far off the world's end, which when I arrive at, I intend to pass, and open to myself another nature, and another world. I passed out of

such dangers for the army, and told him, it was not the business of a general, but of a common soldier; · Nearchus tells us, he took their reproofs ill; and the reason why he was offended at the liberty they used, seems to be, because 'their reproofs were just, and he was conscious he deserved them. However, his fortitude in battle and his thirst after glory hurried him so far, that he could not contain himself, nor keep out of the midst of danger. The same author also assures us, that an angient Bœotian, whose name he conceals, understanding how much Alexander was offended at his friends rebukes; and how he bor show of anger in his looks, approached his presence, and spoke to him to this effect, in the Bœotian dialect: "O, Alexander, to attempt great actions is the part of a hero;"—and at the same time repeated an Iambic verse, the purport whereof is, "He who acts bravely, ought also to suffer bravely." This saying of the old man pleased the king so well, that he ever after held him in high esteem.

CHAPTER XIV.

About this time arrived ambassadors from the Malli, which still remained unsubdued, who made him a surrender of the government of their whole nation: then also arrived the prefects of cities and presidents of the provinces of the Oxydracæ; and with them one hundred and fifty of their chief men, with choice presents, and a free tender of themselves and country into his hands. They moreover begged his pardon for coming no sooner to profess their

Asia into the frontiers of Europe, in one minute of an hour; and being victorious over both these regions, &c."—I shall not make any remarks upon two or three errors in this small specimen of Alexander's answer; the rant and emptiness both of that and the other is so apparent, that it would be an affront to my reader's judgment to presume to expose them.

obedience to him; which, however, they thought themselves not unworthy of, because, like other free nations of India, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws which liberty they had enjoyed free and unmolested, from the time that Bacchus conquered India to that day. But if it seemed good to Alexander, (forasmuch as he was also said to be the offspring of a god,) they were willing to receive a governor from him, to pay the tribute he should impose upon them, as also to give what hostages he should require. Alexander hereupon required them to send a thousand that the chief mem of

Curtius has made strange work heret he tells us, lib. ix. cap. 7, 12. "That no fewer than a hundred ambassadors arrived from the two nations, so often mentioned before, vize the Oxydrace and Malli."-A bundred and fifty came from the Oxydracæ alone.—However, he proceeds, "The ambassadors declared, that they yielded up their country, and to him they committed that liberty, which they had for so many ages kept inviolable."—However, about six lines further, he contradicts this, by saying, that "Alexander received them as subjects, and imposed on them the same tribute which both the two nations had before paid to the Arachosians. If they were tributaries to the Arachosians before, where was their boasted liberty? But even this is clogged with the highest improbability: for how could the Arachosians, who had been subdued by the Persians, and were tributaries to them, make the Oxydracæ and Malli (two of the stoutest nations in India) pay tribute; especially when they were at a vast distance from them, and had the two great rivers Indus and Acesines between them .—He also adds, that these ambassadors told Alexander, a that they received his yoke while their forces were yet entire."-Had this been spoke of the Oxydracæ separately, it had been tolerable; but as he joined them with the Malli in the war, and the Malli with them in this embassy, (both falsely,) it is an error; for he himself assures us, they had been worsted at the city where Alexander received his wound; and Arrian mentions several other defeats, and several cities besides which had been wrested out of their hands.

† Curtius tells us, lib. ix. cap. 7, 15, "that Alexander imposed a tribute upon those two nations, of 2500 horses, over and above what they usually paid to the Arachosians. Arrian talks not of any tribute, but of the hostages which were demanded, till the promised tribute, whatever it was, should be paid. However, when the two nations had made him a present of five hundred dred chariots of war, their hostages were delivered up. Curtius

their nation, whom he would either detain, or use as soldiers, till he had conquered the rest of India. Those thousand, chosen out of the best and choicest of their nation, were accordingly sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers, over and above his demands. Over these people, and those of the Malli, from whom the ambassadors came. Philip was constituted governor; and the king was so pleased with the generosity of the Oxydracæ, that he freely sent back their hostages, and only reserved the chariots. Those affairs thus terminated, and more ships being built and manned, while his wound was healing he went on board his fleet, with seventeen hundred of the auxiliary horse, and as many light-horse as before, besides ten thousand foot, and had not sailed far before he arrived at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines; for the Hydraotes flowing into the Acesines there, loses its Then sailing down the Acesines, he came to the place where it falls into the river Indus: for these four large and navigable rivers at last discharge their waters into that; though they do not preserve their several and distinct names till that time; for the Hydaspes falling into the Acesines, loses its name there; the Acesines takes in the Hydraotes, as also the Hyphasis, and still retains its name, till it falls at last into the Indus: and when the Indus divides itself into two streams, and composes the figure of the Greek letter Δ (Delta), I believe it is not less than a hundred furlongs wide, nay, much more, where it forms a lake, the current there being hardly discernible.

then diverts his readers, for two whole pages, with a combat, which being nothing to the design of his History, might as well have been omitted. He afterwards gives us a catalogue of the presents which the king received from those nations, which nobody else mentions, and which a fruitful invention can furnish out, without one penny expense to himself, or any burthen to the parish where he dwells.

CHAPTER XV.

AT the confluence of the two great rivers Accsines and Indus, Alexander tarried with his fleet, till Perdiccas arrived with the army under his command. having subdued the Abastani,* one of the free nations of India, in his journey. About this time came divers tricemes and vessels of burthen, which had been built among the Xathri, a free people of India, who voluntarily surrendered their country. Ambassadors also arrived there from the Ossadii, promising obedience and tender of their liberty. The king then employed himself in settling the limits of Philip's government that way, and bounded it with the meeting of the · Acesines and Indus, leaving him all the Thracian horse, and as many out of other troops as were necessary for the security of his province. He then ordered a city to be built at the confluence of these two rivers, imagining that by the advantage of such a situation it would become rich and populous; and there he caused some ships to be built. About this time, Oxyartes the Bactrian, father to Roxane, Alex-

When Alexander had made an end of his affairs with those two nations, Curtius tells us, lib. ix. cap. 8, 3, " that he went on board his fleet, and sailed down the stream (in fines Mullorum) to the frontiers of the Malli."-Strange! that he should meet them, when he had sailed so far beyond them; or have such hot work in their country, so long before he came at it! Had he wrote extra fines, it might have passed; but this is intolerable. However, he goes on, "Thence he passed on to the Sabracians."—These may perhaps be the same whom Arrian here calls Abastani, and Diodorus, Sambestæ. But as Arrian has added nothing concerning them but their being subdued by Perdiccas, and Curtius's story is so romantic, I cannot think they have any affinity with each Besides, the names of people and countries are so variously given us by authors, that were it not for some particular circumstances in the stories related concerning them, we should be prodigiously at a loss oftentimes to distinguish one from another. Neither the Xathri nor Ossadii are mentioned by Curtius.

ander's wife, came to him: he received him kindly. and bestowed on him the government of the country of the Parapamisans, Tiryestes,* their former governor, being displaced for mal-administration. Then Craterus, with the greatest part of the army and the elephants, were ferried over the river Indus, and set ashore upon the left bank, because the road on that side seemed much more firm and commodious for the heavy-armed soldiers; and besides, the neighbouring countries were not wholly reduced. He then sailed down the stream to the realm of the Sogdia, where he built another city, †: and some more shipping, and caused his old ships to be repaired. Then the government of the whole country, from the confluence of the Acesines and Indus to the sea, as also. all the sea-coast, he bestowed upon Oxyartes and Python; and having again dispatched Craterus with. his forces through the confines of the Aracoti and

† We are told of the building of this city by Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 8, 8. But he says, it was built some where among some nations, whom he vouchsafes not to name.—So exact is he in pointing out the situation of places, that after ages may judge of the accuracy of his work!

^{*} He is called Tyriaspes by Arrian, lib. iv. cap, 22, and Terioltes by Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 8, 9, who has never mentioned him before as constituted governor of the Parapamisans; however, he tells us, he was condemned to death, which perhaps might be true. He then adds, "that Oxyartes was accused of some sinister designs, on account of a late revolt in Bactria, where his lieutenancy was, but cleared himself so well before the king, that he conferred a greater province upon him."-But tells us not where it lay. This, Curtius adds, lib. ix. cap. 7, 3, "was not a revolt of the Bactrians, but an insurrection of a colony of Gracians planted there, who, under the conduct of one Athenodorus, were resolved to leave the place of their settlement, and return into their own country."—That this whole story is no more than a rhetorical flourish, I am apt to suspect: First, because Arrian, who is every where so accurate in matters of history, takes no notice thereof: And secondly, because Diodorus, p. 567, contradicts him, and affirms, that they were all cut off after Alexander's decease; and confirms the same again, lib. xviii. Many did, indeed, return from other colonies into their own country, some of whom Curtius undoubtedly mistook for these.

Drangi; he sailed down the river, till he arrived at the kingdom of Musicanus, (which, according to the information he had received, was the richest and most populous throughout all India,) and was highly offended, because Musicanus neither came forth to meet him and offer him subjection, nor sought his friendship by ambassadors, nor sent him presents according to his expectations, nor so much as condescended to make one single request to him; and so swiftly did he pass down the river, that he entered his territories before he received any notice of his coming. Musicanus, surprised at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train; and having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his crime; which kind of behaviour always weighed much with Alexander, towards the obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned his crime, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands. lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he ordered Craterus to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished: this done, he left a strong garrison therein, because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection.

CHAPTER XVI.

THEN with his archers and Agrians, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named Oxy-

^{*} From the city which Alexander had newly founded, Curtius tells us, he passed on to the country of Musicanus, which he conquered, and placed a garrison in his chief city; and this is all he has thought fit to give us of the story. See lib. ix. cap. 8, 9.

canus, and invaded his dominions, because he neither came forth to meet him nor sent ambassadors with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. Alexander gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to Oxycanus immediately submitted without blows; so much did the courage and fortune of Alexander prevail against the Indians in those parts. After this he led his forces against Sambus, whom he had be-

* Between the kingdom of Musicanua and that of Oxycanus, Curtius places the Præstians, lib. ix. cap. 8, 11; but as no other author mentions them besides himself, the Delphini commentator sticks not to tell us, he, for that very reason, suspects the truth thereof. He then proceeds to give us the story of Oxycanus, whom Biodorus, p. 569, and Strabe, p. 1026, and many editions of Curtius, call Porticanus. He tells us "The king retired into a strong city, wherein was a good garrison, which, notwithstanding Alexander took by storm, after three days' siege: whereupon Oxycands retreated into the citadel, and sent to capitulate; but before they could reach him, two of the towers of the citadel fell down, whereupon the Macedomans entering the breach, over the ruins, took the place, and slew Oxycanus, with some few who offered to resist their fury."

t Curtius calls him Sabus, lib. ix. cap. 8, 13. Plutarch, Sabbas, p. 39; Strabo, Sabutas, and his capital city Sindonalia, p. 1026. But Gronovius imagines this an error in the copies of Strabo, and has corrected it from the authority of Arrian. Curtius makes strange work with this Sabus and his country; for he tells us, lib. ix. cap. 8, 15, that " when Alexander had taken several of their towns by composition, he took their strongest city by a mine," and from the authority of Clitarchus, assures us, "that he put 80,000 Indians to the sword in that country."-Well, one might reasonably believe he had done his business; but he proceeds to acquaint us, that " Alexander having embarked his troops on board his fleet, and sailed down the stream three days, on the fourth he arrived at a town on the frontiers of king Sabus."-Poor Sabus! One might have thought that the blood of 80,000 of thy subjects had been enough to have gorged these monsters.—However, to make the story hang together, he acquaints us, that " Sabus had indeed surrendered himself; but this city, three days' sail distant from the place where he was attacked before, refused to obey him; whereupon Alexander took it by stratagem, slaying 600 Indians, and taking 1000 prison-

fore declared governor of the Indian mountaineers. but who had fled when he heard that Musicanus was dismissed in a friendly manner and had his dominions restored, for he was at enmity, with Musicanus. When Alexander approached the capital city of his province, called Sindomana, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of Samous came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants; assuring him that Sambus did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister: designs against him, but for fear of Musicanus after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these he attacked and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the Brachmans as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors. They bear a great sway among the of this rebellion. Indians for their reputed wisdom, whereof we shall

ers."-After this he gives us a long story of the Indians, "who," . he says," had poisoned their arrows; so that many of the Macedonians, who were never so slightly touched, died of their wounds, till Ptolemy, who was one of the wounded, happening to fall into a profound sleep, dreamed that he beheld an apparition in the form of a dragon; holding a certain herb in his mouth, which he offered him as a remedy against the poison; and so well did he remember the shape of the herb, that when he awoke, he said he could know it again if any could find it out. Well, search was made, and the herb being found, was applied to their wounds; and so all that were sick were then cured: whereupon the Barbarians finding that their design had failed, delivered up their. city."—See lib. ix. cap. 8, 25, &c.—This is a strange dreaming story, and could have proceeded from none but a dreaming author. Arrian has told us something like the first part thereof, as happening to a city which had revolted at the instigation of the Brachmans or Indian sages: and Strabo gives us a story very like the rest, with a dragon tagged to the tail of it; which, he says, happened among the Oritæ. See lib. xv. p. 1052, 1053. In short, the latter part of the story especially has no manner of probability in it; and as Ptolemy himself gives us an account ao widely different, we may reasonably reject that of Curtius as fabulous, wherever he had his materials. Besides, Strabo acquaints us, "that it was very probable some skilful person showed the king this herb, and the fable was invented by those who had a mind to flatter him." See p. 1053, ed. Casaub.

give our sentiments in a separate treatise relating to the affairs of India.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHILE these things were in agitation, news arrived of the revolt of Musicanus; wherefore Python the son of Agenor being dispatched with a sufficient force against him, he attacked the cities belonging to him, and demolished some of them, and erected castles and planted garrisons in others; and having executed his orders, returned to the camp and fleet, carrying Musicanus along with him in chains. Alexander ordered him to be crucified in his own territories, and with him as many of the Brachmans as had instigated him to a revolt. At this time came the prince of the Pattalans * to meet him, and gave up himself and kingdom into his hands. (This realm the river Indus incloses in the form of the Greek letter Δ (delta), and it is much larger than the Ægyptian province of the same name.) Alexander restored him to his government, commanding him only to provide all necessaries for his army when they arrived there. He then dispatched Craterus †, with Attalus's, Meleager's, and

^{*} I cannot perceive that Curtius ever takes notice of Pattala, as an island made by the two branches of the river Indus; but he is seldom accurate in any thing, and remarkably defective in his geography every where. He says, lib. ix, cap. 8, 28, "that Mæris, king of the Pathalians, had quitted his capital city, and fled to the mountains."—That is true enough; but he had met Alexander before, and promised to surrender himself and kingdom into his hands: but this was too much for Curtius to tell his readers, because he was in haste to acquaint them with the marvellous story of the ebbing and flowing of the tide.

[†] Curtius never once mentions this circumstance, of Craterus being dispatched before the rest of the army with the invalids, elephants, &c. notwithstanding which, when Alexander was in Gedrosia, lib. ix. cap. 10, 19, he tells us, "he received a message from Craterus, importing, that he had seized and put in custody Ozines and Zariaspes, two Persian noblemen, who were

Antigene's troops, and some of the archers, with such of the auxiliaries and other Macedonian soldiers as were unfit for service, with orders that they should pass through the countries of the Arachoti and Drangi into Carmania, and thence into Macedonia; and to him he gave the charge of the elephants. The rest of the army, except those forces which he had on board his fleet, was commanded by Hephæstion. But Python, who led the equestrian archers and Agrians on the other side of the river opposite to Hephæstion, was ordered to draw colonies into the cities newly built; and if the neighbouring Indians attempted any innovation, to reduce them to obedience, and then to meet him and his forces at Pattala. But when he had sailed three days down the river, he received intelligence that the prince of the Pattalans having gathered together a vast number of his subjects, had abandoned his country and fled into the deserts, upon which Alexander made the more haste thither; and when he arrived there, he found the cities destitute of inhabitants, and even the fields of husbandmen; wherefore, sending some of the light-armed troops of his army in pursuit, when they had taken some of them, he dispatched those forwards to the rest to invite them to return, declaring that they should enjoy the same freedom, both to inhabit their cities and to till their lands, as heretofore; upon which invitation many of them returned.

contriving a rebellion."—It is certainly a prodigious fault in him, to acquaint us with the last circumstance, unless he had given us the former. His readers may, with good reason, ask him how Craterus came there, because the last time they heard from him he was in India. Craterus seems here to duck down in India, and pop up his head in Gedrosia; like the British queen, who is said to have sunk at Charing-Cross and risen again at Queen-Hithe.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HE then dispatched Hephæstion to build a fort * in the city, and sent several men into the neighbouring country, which was destitute of water, to dig wells, and render it habitable: but some of the Barbarians assaulting them on a sudden, slew a few of them. but were at last put to flight; and having lost many of their numbers, betook themselves to the desert. Alexander having notice of this insult of the Barbarians, sent other forces to join with the former and carry on the work with safety. Nigh Pattala the river Indus divides itself into two vast branches, both whereof carry the same name to the sea. Here he ordered a haven and convenient docks for ships to be built; and when all things succeeded to his wish, he resolved to sail down to the ocean, by that branch of the river on the right hand; wherefore sending Leonnatus with a thousand horse, and about eight thousand heavy and light-armed foot, through the island Pattala, that they might meet the fleet on the other side; he, with some of his choicest and best sailing ships, namely the biremes and triremes, and some long galleys, began his course down the right branch of the river; but as he had no pilot + who

† Curtius acquaints us, that "Alexander took some pilots on board at Pattala," lib. ix. cap. 8, 30; "but they making their escape, by reason of the carelessness of their guards; he sent into an island, situate almost in the middle of the channel of the

^{*} We have not one word in Curtius of this fort or castle built to curb the Pattalans; only in one place he seems to intimate in general (for he is exact in nothing material) that Alexander built many cities thereabouts (urbes plerasque condidit), of which some of his commentators have imagined the Barce in Justin, lib. xii. cap. 19, to be one; the Potana in Diodorus, another; and the Xylenopolis in Pliny, a third: but Tellier, with great reason, judges the copies of Curtius to be erroneous there, and that instead of urbes plerasque it ought to be read urbes portusque. If this be allowed, he differs not much from Arrian.

was acquainted with the channel (for the Indians thereabout had fled from their habitations), they were reduced to great straits; for the wind blowing vehemently from the ocean, the next day, the river swelled, the waves raged, and his ships beat against each other, insomuch that some of them were shattered, and some of his triremes almost wholly dashed in pieces, so that they were with much difficulty drawn to the bank, and the men saved, who otherwise had been swallowed up by the waves. Other ships being then built, and some of the nimblest of the light-armed soldiers sent up into the country, at a distance from the river they took some Indians, whom they used as pilots all along that river: but when they arrived at the place where it is full two hundred furlongs wide, namely, at its mouth, the wind blowing hard from the sea, and the waves rising so high as to hinder them from managing their oars, they again put into a certain bay, which their pilots showed them, for shelter.

CHAPTER XIX.

WHILE they continued in that station, an accident happened which astonished them, namely, the ebbing and flowing of the waters,* like as in the great ocean,

river, for more; but the messengers returned without finding any." Where this island is, or what was its name, he has not told us: some of his commentators, indeed, have supposed it to have been the same with Arrian's Cillutas, but without any probability; that being no more than one day's sail from the ocean, if so much, whereas this mentioned by Curtius was above four days' sail from the mouth of the river, as may easily be gathered from the circumstances of the story.—The remaining part of this chapter he has wholly omitted.

* Curtius has spent no less than four long pages in describing the confusion, horror, and vast astonishment which Alexander's soldiers were in, when they first perceived the tide. But Mr. Le Clerc has sufficiently assured us, in his Criticism prefixed to this

insomuch that the ships were left upon dry ground; which Alexander and his friends having never perceived before, were so much the more surprised at. But what increased their astonishment was, that the tide returning a short while after, began to heave the ships up, so that those which stuck in the mud were gently raised and set afloat again, without receiving any damage; but those which lay upon the sand were some of them swept away by the fury of the tide and dashed to pieces, and others driven against the bank and destroyed. These losses being however repaired, according as the time would allow, Alexander sent two long galleys before the fleet towards the ocean, to view a certain island which they called Cillutas.* where, his pilots told him, he might go on shore before he entered the main ocean: and when they had assured him that it was a large island, and had commodious harbours, besides plenty of fresh water, he commanded the rest of the fleet to put in there; but he himself with some choice ships proceeded further, to try if their passage out of the mouth of that river into

work, that he has described it ten times greater than it either was, or possibly could be; and has given such strong reasons to convince us of the truth of what he says, that it is impossible to read his arguments, and not subscribe to his opinion. Arrian only describes the wonder of Alexander and his friends, or chief officers, who had never been eye-witnesses of the like before; though many of the Persians and other nations inhabiting the sea-coast, whom he had then on board his fleet and in his army, could not be strangers to it; besides, the peasants which he then had on board his fleet, according to Curtius's own confession, could not know the river, and at the same time be ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the tide. I forbear to take any notice of his rhetorical rant of the ends of the world, the utmost limits of nature, &cc. these having been sufficiently exploded already.

* Plutarch calls this island Scillustis, or Psiltucis. Curtius tells us there was an island, but he has neither told us the name thereof, nor pointed out the place whereabout it may be found; so admirable a faculty has that author of skulking behind general descriptions, and screening himself from censure, by concealing the names of towns, islands, &c. that it seems as if it were a wise contrivance of his, on purpose to avoid being detected of errors.

the ocean was likely to be safe; and having passed about two hundred furlongs from the first island, he came within view of another, in the ocean. Then returning to the first island, in the river, and drawing up his fleet under a promontory, he sacrificed to the gods,* as he had received orders from Hammon; and arriving at the other island, in the ocean, the next day he prepared other victims, and sacrificed to other gods in a different manner, according to the directions which he said he had received from the oracle of Hammon. Then having passed the mouths of the river Indus, he launched forth into the vast ocean, to discover (as he pretended) if any land lay beyond that island: but, in my opinion, it was only that he might boast of his sailing in the ocean beyond the Indies. Having there sacrificed some bulls to Neptune. he threw them into the sea; and having poured forth a libation and offered sacrifices, after giving thanks to the god, he threw the golden goblet and other vessels overboard, praying that the fleet, which he now resolved to send under the command of Nearchus into the Persian Gulf, and thence up the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, might go safe.

CHAPTER XX.

THEN returning back to Pattala, he found the castle built, and Python with his forces there, having executed his orders. Wherefore, giving the charge of building a haven and docks for shipping to Hephæstion (for he designed to leave part of his fleet at the

[•] We have no more of this in Curtius, but only that "Alexander, having now at length satisfied his desire, sacrificed to the gods of the sea, and the peculiar deities of the places, and then returned to his fleet." See lib. ix. cap. 9, 27.—What this desire of his was, which could be so easily satisfied, I cannot gather from Curtius; unless it be what he makes him tell his soldiers, a little before, viz. lib. ix. cap. 9, 5, "That as the bounds of na-

city Pattala, where the Indus divides itself into two streams), he with the rest proposed to sail down to the ocean by the other branch of the river, to try whether the passage out to sea was safer or more easy that way. These two mouths of the river Indus are about eighteen hundred furlongs * distant from each other, and so much is the extent of the island Pattala along

ture were not further off than there, he should then see things unknown to any but the immortal gods."—He had better have waited with patience, till he had been a god himself, and then he might have seen all these fine sights with half the trouble.

* Strabo seems to tax Nearchus, from whom Arrian takes these dimensions, with an error, in asserting that Pattala, or the Indian Delta, at the mouth of the river Indus, was bigger than the Ægyptian Delta, at the mouth of the river Nile; but he is so far from proving the truth of what he asserts, that he proves the contrary. "Aristobulus," says he, lib. xv. p. 1026, "affirms, that the mouths of the river which make the basis of Pattala, are 1000 stadia distant from each other, to which Nearchus adds 800 more. And Onesicritus asserts, that each side thereof is 2000 stadia in length, which is equal with the Ægyptian Delta: But that," says Strabo, " is false, for the Ægyptian Delta is 1200 or 1300 stadia every way."—I should be sorry to tax so great and so judicious an author as Strabo with a mistake; I rather think it some error in the numerals, which I shall leave to the critics to correct at leisure. Curtius has given us little of the contents of this chapter worth notice; he only says, lib. ix. cap. 10, 1, that " the fleet came to anchor near a salt lake, whose unknown nature deceived many who ventured to wash themselves in it, for their bodies grew all over scabby, and the disease was infectious, but it was cured at last with oil."-This I humbly submit to the decision of the College of Physicians.—However he proceeds: "Then the king sending Leonnatus before, with a party to dig wells whereever the army should march, he himself resolved to take up his winter-quarters there till the next spring."—It is a wonder that Curtius should talk of winter-quarters almost under the tropic, the heats there being much more to be feared than the cold. Besides, he is mistaken every way, for Alexander began his march directly, and Nearchus, the admiral or commander-inchief of his fleet, was ordered to forbear to set sail, not till the spring, but, on the contrary, till the Etesian winds ceased, which the inhabitants informed him happened annually about the setting of the Pleiades (or the beginning of November), and that from that season to the winter solstice, or middle of December, was the best sailing along that coast.

the sea coast. When he had sailed far down the left branch, and was now nigh the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake, formed either by the river spreading wide over a flat country, or by additional streams flowing in from the adjacent parts, and making it appear like a bay in the sea. Abundance of sea-fish are found there, of a much larger size than our seas produce. Wherefore steering to a certain creek which his pilots directed him to, he left Leonnatus there, with many of the soldiers and all the long galleys, but himself with some biremes and triremes, passed out at the mouth of the river, and sailed into the ocean also that way, and found that passage much safer and easier than the other. going on shore with a party of horse, he travelled three days along the sea coast to view it, and try if he could find any bays or creeks to secure his fleet from storms. He also ordered many wells to be dug, to supply his navy with water; and returning to Pattala, dispatched a part of his army to help those who were employed in digging the wells along the coast, and ordered them, when they had finished their work, to return thither. He afterward took another voyage to the lake, where he commanded another haven to be made, with other places for the safety of ships, and leaving a garrison there, ordered that four months' provisions should be got ready, and all other necessaries, for the army on board.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE season of the year was then unfit for undertaking a voyage; for the Etesian winds reigned, which blow not there, as with us, from the north, but from the south, and come off the vast ocean. Besides, he was informed by those who knew the country, that those seas were safest for navigation from the beginning

of winter, which is from the setting of the Pleiades to the winter solstice. For at that time, while the country is refreshed with great rains, gentle breezes of wind arise, extremely commodious for those who try the sea there, as well with oars as sails. Nearchus. the admiral of this fleet, lay waiting for this opportunity to set sail. But Alexander, departing from Pattala, marched with a sufficient force to the river Arabius. Then, with the half of his targeteers and archers, and some of his troops of auxiliary horse and foot, besides one troop out of every regiment of horse, and all his equestrian archers, he turned towards the ocean on his left hand, not only that he might cause more wells to be dug for the use of his fleet, which was to sail that way, but that he might make a sudden attempt upon the Oritæ (a nation of India who had long enjoyed their freedom) because they had made no offers of friendship either to himself or his army. The rest of the forces he committed to Hephæstion. The Oritæ, who were a free nation dwelling near the river Arabius, being neither strong enough to encounter him, nor willing to yield themselves subjects to him, no sooner perceived his approach than they retired to the deserts. ander having crossed the river, which was neither wide nor deep, marched through the greatest part of the desert that night, and came into a well-inhabited country betimes next morning. Then ordering his foot forces to follow him at leisure, he passed forward with his horse, which he divided into parties that they might take up the more space, and thus invaded the territories of the Oritæ. Many of those who took up arms to oppose him were slain, and many were taken prisoners. Then coming to a small river, he there pitched his tents; but when Hephæstion arrived with the rest of his forces, he penetrated further into the country; and coming to a certain village which served them instead of a capital city, and

was named Rambacia,* he was pleased with its situation; and imagining that it would rise to a rich and populous city, if a colony were drawn thither, he committed the care thereof to Hephæstion.

CHAPTER XXII.

THEN, with half of his targeteers, and Agrians, equestrian archers, and other troops of horse, he marched to the frontiers of the Gadrosi and Oritæ, where he was informed there was a narrow pass, which the Gadrosi and Oritæ had jointly seized, with a design of stopping his progress; and there they were posted advantageously enough; but as soon as they heard that he approached towards them, they abandoned their post and fled. However, the chiefs of the Oritæ came to him there, and surrendered themselves and country into his hands. He thereupon commanded them to assemble the people together, and order them to disperse and return home; which if they obeyed, no harm should befall them. And having deputed Apollophanes their governor, the commanded Leonna-

^{*} Curtius tells us, lib. ix. cap. 10, 7, that he built a city there, and peopled it with Arachosians. Freinshemius thinks this may be the same which Strabo calls Alexandria Ariana; and Stephanus, Alexandria Arachosia, because it was said to be peopled with Arachosians. "Among the Oritæ," says Pliny, lib. vii. cap. 9, "Rambacia, their chief village, has a haven, whose commodiousness Alexander observing, built there a city, in the confines of the Arii; for Gedrosia, where the Oritæ inhabit, is a part of the country of the Arians."

[†] I cannot find a syllable of all the contents of this chapter in Curtius; neither the deputing Apollophanes governor of the Oritæ, nor the leaving Leonnatus with a party, to see the city peopled, and wait for the arrival of the fleet, though we have an account afterwards, in his History, lib. ix. cap. 10, 19, that Leonnatus gained a victory over this people, when Alexander had marched with his forces almost as far as the borders of Carmania. So that his readers may very well ask how Leonnatus came there.

tus, one of his body-guards, with his Agrians and archers, and part of the horse and foot forces, to tarry there till the fleet should sail round these coasts, and take care to see the city well peopled, and the governor's orders obeyed. In the mean while, he with the rest of the army (for Hephæstion was returned with his forces) marched into the territories of the Gadrosi, the greatest part of his way lying through the desert. In this country, Aristobulus tells us, great numbers of myrrh-trees grow, much taller than any to be found elsewhere; and that the Phoenicians, who followed Alexander's army for the sake of merchandise, gathered the gum of that tree (for there was a vast quantity there, the branches being large, and never any gathered from them before) in such prodigious plenty, as therewith to load many beasts of burthen. The country also produces roots of spikenard, whereof the Phœnicians gathered good store, and much of it was trampled under foot by the army, so that a prodigious perfume was thereby diffused all round them, the air being filled there-Many other sorts of trees are also seen there: the leaves of one kind whereof, he tells us, somewhat resemble those of laurel; these trees grow chiefly in places where the tide flows among them, and where they are again left dry at low water; nevertheless, those which grow in low grounds, whence the sea does not leave them at the lowest ebb, stand uncorrupted by the salt water: they rise to thirty cubits in height, and happened to be then in blossom. Their flower is white, and in shape like a violet, but much excelling it in sweetness. There grows also a thorn there, as the same author assures us, which produces shoots or stems with prickles, so strong and so thick set, that if a horseman should happen to be en-

This is an omission which no regular historian ever will be guilty of. That this country produces several precious aromatics, especially myrrh and spikenard, See Pliny, Strabo, lib. xv. &c.

tangled therewith, he would sooner be pulled off from his horse than freed from the stem: these thorns are said to catch fast hold of the down of hares as they endeavour to pass through, insomuch that they are taken as birds are with birdlime, or fish with hooks. However, these thorns are easily cut down, and being afterwards sawn in pieces, much juice issues from them, which is far richer than that of the fig-tree in the spring-time, though much more acid.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THENCE Alexander travelled through the country of the Gadrosi,* by a road very dangerous, and destitute of all the necessaries of life: but, above all, his forces were ready to die with thirst, on which account they were obliged to march most by night, and they were at a great distance from the sea. However, he determined to draw them down towards the seacoast, to try if he could find any haven or creek, and also to provide some necessaries for his fleet; for which reason he ordered pits or wells to be dug, markets to be appointed, and creeks sought for; but the whole coast of the Gadrosi was entirely waste and uncultivated: nevertheless he dispatched Thoas †

† We have no account in Curtius of this Thoas, nor of any person dispatched with a party to the sea-coast. However, he gives us some glimmering light to shew us whereabouts he is;

^{*} Curtius has given us but a short account of all the hardships the army suffered in this country, which he still continues to call the country of the Oritæ, and the inhabitants Indians.—I wonder how far he designs to extend India this way.—Besides, the account he has given is so loose and general, that scarce any parallel can be drawn between him and Arrian. His commentators have been weary of him long ago, and have almost all dropt him, which makes my present task much the heavier. However, as I have undertaken it, I am resolved to go through with it, and shall then leave my performance for the world to judge of, and the future commentators of Curtius to exercise their good-nature upon.

the son of Mandrodorus, with a small party of horse, towards the sea, to try if he could possibly find any creek, or fresh water, or any thing necessary for the fleet. But when he returned, he brought word that he found some fishermen upon the coast, who lived in small huts, whose walls were composed of sea-shells piled upon each other, and the roofs of fish-bones. the back-bones serving instead of rafters: he also added, that they had but little water, and what they had was dug out of the sand, and very brackish: and when, after a long journey, he came into a part of the same country somewhat better inhabited and more fruitful, he gathered up as much corn as he could; and having sealed it with his signet, ordered some horse-loads thereof to be carried to the seacoast for the use of the fleet; but, whilst he retired into a little cottage on the shore, the soldiers (regardless of the strict charge he had laid upon them, and afterwards those appointed to guard it) breaking the seals, made use of it, dividing it among those of their own company who were most pinched with hunger. which at that time was so grievous among them, that rather than they should suffer certain death, they chose the more remote and uncertain one of dying for disobeying the king's orders. However, Alexander hearing the story, and understanding the necessity which obliged them to act in that manner, freely pardoned them. Then passing through all the country, and gathering as much as could be procured, he ordered Cretheus the son of Callatianus to convey it to the sea-coast, for the use of the army on board. He moreover commanded the natives to bring him as

for he says, lib. ix. cap. 10,9, "that the inhabitants nigh the sea-coast (whom he still calls Indians) let their nails grow without cutting them, and wear their hair shagged without combing; their huts they build with shells and other produce of the sea: they are clothed with the furs of wild beasts, and feed on fish dried in the sun, and sometimes on the larger sort, which the sea throws up upon their coast.

much corn as they could, ready ground; as also a quantity of dates and cattle from the higher parts of the country, and assured them that he would satisfy them for their trouble. He likewise sent Telephus, one of his friends, to procure necessaries elsewhere, though he could afford him but a scanty allowance of ground corn for his journey.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HE himself then marched forward to Pura, the capital city of the Gadrosi, where he arrived the sixtieth day after his departure from the country of the Oritæ. Many of the writers of Alexander's Life tell us. that all the hardships which his army endured in his expedition through Asia were not to be compared with those they underwent in that march. Nearchus assures us, that though he could not possibly be ignorant of the difficulties they must struggle with in such a country, yet nevertheless he was resolved to go forwards. He tells us, the inhabitants informed him that no general * was ever able to conduct an army safe through these deserts; that Semiramis entering them with great numbers of men, in her flight from India, carried no more than twenty through, out of her whole army: and that Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who also attempted to invade In-

^{*} Curtius is here, as he is every where else, full of romance; and if he sometimes stumbles upon truth by accident, he is sure in a little while to lose sight of it. He tells us, lib. ix. cap. 10, 17, "that the king was not only grieved, but ashamed, for being the cause of so much mischief to his army."—That is not only contrary to Arrian, who has given us the story a thousand times more accurately than he, but also to Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1051, who assures us, that "Alexander having been informed that Semiramis escaped through these deserts with only twenty, and Cyrus, with no more than seven, out of a whole army, had a mighty ambition to lead his forces through them, that he might boast of being successful where they had miscarried."

dia, but miscarried, lost the greatest part of his forces in those dangerous wastes; himself and seven of his followers only escaping: That these stories being told to Alexander, were so far from damping his resolutions, that he was thereupon the rather excited to attempt to conduct his army through these parts, where both Cyrus and Semiramis had failed of success; to shew, that no country was unpassable by such soldiers, led on by such a general. For these reasons, as also that he might be nigh the sea-coast to provide necessaries for his fleet, he chose to return that However, the heats were so vehement, and their want of water so much, that many of his men, and most of their beasts of burthen, died; some by being smothered in the deep scorching sands, but the greatest part of thirst; for they found many little tumuli, or hillocks of sand, which they were obliged to ascend, and where no firm footing could be had, but they sunk deep into it, as they would into clay or newfallen snow; and their horses and mules were no less harassed and wearied out by the excessive heats and intolerable fatigues of such a march, than the men. The great distance of their resting-places was one occasion of the army's hardship; for their want of water caused them oftentimes to continue their march much further than otherwise they would. they had travelled all night, they happened to find some water in the morning, their miseries were a little abated; but if they found none, and proceeded thus the next day, then the length of the march, with the excessive heats and raging thirst they endured, dispatched many of them.*

^{*} Strabo has given us almost the same account of all these hardships with Arrian; and no wonder, for they copied from the same authors. However, he adds, "that, by reason of their excessive want of water, they were forced to march 200, and at other times 400 stadia in a day; nay, they even sometimes reached 600, but their march was then continued all night." See Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1051, &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE soldiers then began to slay many beasts of burthen for their own use; for when provisions failed, they consulted together, and killed both horses and mules, and ate their flesh, and afterwards excused themselves by pretending that they died of heat or thirst, and there was none who took the pains to inquire thoroughly into the affair: even Alexander himself, it is said, was not ignorant of it; but as their necessities pleaded in their behalf, he deemed it prudence rather to conceal his knowledge thereof than to séem to authorise it, by suffering the guilty persons to escape punishment. And now, to such straits were they reduced, that neither the sick, nor those who were weary with travel, could be drawn any further, partly for want of beasts, and partly for want of carriages, which the soldiers themselves, because they could not easily drag them through the sands, broke in pieces. Many also broke their waggons before they began this march, through fear that they should be forced to leave the shorter and nearer path, and take that which was further about, only because it was more convenient for carriages. this account many were left behind; some by reason of sickness, some of heat * and weariness, and others

^{*} I cannot imagine how Curtius came to omit so fair an opportunity of entertaining his readers with a florid description of the sun's heat, and scorching sands here; unless it be because he had done it before, in a country nigh twenty degrees further north. But to pass that by, he tells us, lib. ix. cap. 10, 11, "that the scarcity of provisions at first, and afterwards an extreme famine, caused them to slay their carriage-beasts, not sparing so much as their horses; so that for want of beasts of burthen they were forced to make a bonfire of abundance of their rich spoils."—He then acquaints us, lib. ix. cap. 10, 13, "that the famine was followed by a pestilence; for the use of meats of an unwholesome juice, added to the toils of their march

of thirst; and none took care either to restore them to health again, or to help them forwards; for the army moved apace, and the whole was so much in danger that they were obliged to neglect the care of particular persons. If any chanced to fall asleep, by reason of the vast fatigues of a hard night's march, when they awaked, if they had strength, they followed the army by the track of their foot-steps; thoughfew of them ever came up with it, the far greater part sinking into the sands, like sailors into the ocean, and so perishing. Another accident also happened which equally affected man and beast; for the Gadrosian country, like the Indies, is subject to rains while the Etesian winds blow; but these rains fall not in the plains but among the mountains, where the clouds, not reaching their tops, are, as it were, pent up by the winds, and dissolved into showers. When the army therefore encamped nigh a small brook for the sake of the water, the same, about the second watch of the night (being swelled with sudden rains, which none of them perceived) poured down such a dreadful inundation,* that many women and children who followed the camp, with the royal furniture, and

and the trouble of their minds, had bred such a raging distemper among them, that they could neither rest nor proceed, without the loss of many of their numbers: if they rested, the famine, and if they travelled, the pestilence attacked them."—Whether the eating of camels or horse-flesh will cause an epidemical disease, I leave to the decision of the College. The most mysterious part of the whole paragraph is, that the famine should be so much the more dreadful when they rested, than when they travelled; for he has already assured us, that the country afforded them not one morsel, nor could they have any thing but what they carried with them.—I always thought that travelling had got people a stomach, and have often heard of lying in bed till noon to save a breakfast.

* This would have been an excellent theme for a rhetorician to have descanted upon; but Curtius has not said one word about it. Strabo has told us the very same story with Arrian, and almost in the same words, for which reason I shall forbear inserting his description, to avoid repetition, and only refer my reader to his Geography, lib. xv. p. 1052.

the baggage mules which were left alive, were swept away. Nay, so furious was the deluge, that the soldiers were hardly able to save themselves, many of them losing their arms, and some few their lives; many also, who had long endured the utmost extremities of heat and thirst, finding plenty of water at their first coming here, drank to excess, and died. And hence it was, that Alexander would never after that time suffer them to encamp near a torrent, but at the distance of twenty furlongs at least, to hinder his men from rushing too violently forwards, and drinking too large draughts, to their own destruction; he also took care, that those who came first should not run into the water with their feet, and thereby render it unwholesome to the rest of the army.

CHAPTER XXVI.

While the army laboured under the most dreadful inconveniences of heat and thirst in this desert, Alexander performed one gallant act, which I can by no means pass over in silence, though some authors affirm it was not done here, but in the deserts of Parapamisus. As the forces continued their march through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water; the king, though ready to faint away with thirst, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers (as is usual in such cases) might the more patiently endure those hardships which their general shared in common with them.* In the mean while,

^{*} Curtius has given us this same story, as happening in the deserts of Sogdia, lib. vii. cap. 5, 3; and his whole relation thereof would be entertaining enough, were not the scene unskilfully laid; for that the sun should scorch so much, in a country so distant from the tropic, where its rays fall so obliquely, is incredi-

some light-armed soldiers, who were dispatched to search for water, found a small quantity not far from the army, in the channel of a brook almost dried up, but it was very muddy: however, they drew it up, and bringing it in a shield, presented it to the king as a choice gift. He received it; and returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground, in presence of the army. This action of his encouraged the soldiers, as much as if every man had drank a share of that water which he refused to taste; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praise-worthy than the noble example he showed of a wise and consummate general. Another accident happened here,* which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; for the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any further; for no sign of any track appeared to point out the path; nor was there so much as a tree, nor a shrub, nor any certain hillock, to be seen to direct them; besides, they were unacquainted with the manner of observing the motions of the sun by day and the stars by night, to regulate their march, as mariners at sea do their course by the two Bears; the Phoenicians by the Lesser, but most other nations by the Greater. In this difficulty Alexander was

ble. However, as he always covets rather to tell strange stories than true ones, he imagined it might go down well enough with

the generality of his readers.

"This circumstance neither Curtius nor Strabo has given us. Plutarch adds, p. 40, "that of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse, Alexander scarce brought back a fourth part out of India; diseases, ill diet, and famine, had so much diminished their numbers."—But then it must be understood, that not above a third part of these forces, perhaps, accompanied Alexander through these deserts, a large detachment having been sent through the country of the Drangse and Arachosians, under the conduct of Craterus; and great numbers being put on board the fleet, to sail into Persia with Nearchus.

forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself, with a few choice horse, went before to point out the road; but their horses, quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind; insomuch that only he, with five of his followers, passed through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However, on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coast, and found plenty of water sweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither; and after that travelled seven days along the sea-coast, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, they left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts again.

CHAPTER XXVII.

As soon as Alexander arrived at the capital city of the Gadrosi, he allowed his soldiers some rest. He then deposed Apollophanes,* because he had taken no care to observe what was ordered him, and Thoas was deputed to govern in his stead; but he dying soon after, Sibyrtius was appointed to succeed him. He was first made governor of Carmania, but that being given to Tlepolemus the son of Pythophanes, he was promoted to the government of the Arachotti and Gadrosi. And now the king was upon his march for Carmania, when he received news that Philip †

† This was Philip the son of Machates, who, as Arrian has

^{*} From Alexander's entrance into the territories of the Gadrosi to his arrival at their capital city, Strabo tells us, p. 1053, was sixty days. Curtius affirms, lib. ix. cap. 10, 20, "that Menon being dead, Sibyrtius was appointed to succeed him in the government of Gadrosia."—An English historian might as well say, that Queen Elizabeth dying, Queen Anne mounted the throne. The truth is, Menon dying, Apollophanes was ordered his successor, he being deposed for mal-administration, Thoas was deputed in his place, and he living but a short while, the government was then bestowed upon Sibyrtius.

(whom he had constituted his lieutenant in India) was basely murdered by the mercenary soldiers; but that the murderers were most of them seized, and put to death by the Macedonians who were Philip's guards, partly in the fact and partly afterwards. He then dispatched orders to Eudemus and Taxiles, by letters, that they should take care of the administration of affairs in that province for a while, till he could send a deputy thither. When he entered Carmania, Craterus * came to him with the rest of his forces and the elephants, and brought Ordones with him, whom he seized because he had attempted to revolt. the same time arrived Stasanor governor of the Arii and Drangæ, and Pharismanes the son of Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia and Hyrcania. Cleander † also, with Sitalces and Heracon, captains of the forces which were left with Parmenio in Media. waited upon him there, with a great part of the army

told us, lib. v. cap. 8, was constituted governor of these provinces; so that Raderus is mistaken, in supposing him to be the son of Balacrus, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry at the battle of Arbela.

* This has been taken notice of already. Curtius told us, that "Craterus dispatched a messenger to acquaint Alexander that he had seized Ozines and Zariaspes, two noble Persians who had attempted to raise an insurrection, and secured them."—Who this Zariaspes was is not known, his name occurring no where else. Ozines is called Ordones by Arrian; but what Curtius is chiefly blameable for in this place is, because he has neither acquainted us where those two noble Persians were taken, nor where Craterus met Alexander with his forces: and this not only Arrian, but also Strabo has done; for he says, that "Craterus departing from the river Hydaspes, marched through the countries of the Arachoti and Drangæ, into Carmania," lib. xv. p. 1051.

† Curtius ushers in his tenth book with this story; "Then came Cleander, Sitalces, Heracon, and Agathon, who had executed the king's commands upon Parmenio."—Who this Agathon was, is not known. Arrian mentions no such person as any ways concerned in that fact. Curtius, indeed, tells us of one Agathon, who, he says, was made governor of Babylon; but this cannot be the same. The circumstance of Heracon's escaping punishment at that time, and being afterwards apprehended and accused by the Susians, he has not so much as touched upon.

under their command. Cleander and Sitalces were accused by the Medians, as well as by the army, of spoiling their temples, removing their ancient ornaments, and committing many other acts of avarice. lust, and cruelty among them; and the crimes laid to their charge being fully proved against them, they were ordered to be put to death, that other governors, or presidents, or lieutenants who should succeed them, might be deterred from treading in their footsteps, for fear of meeting with their punishment; and such exemplary pieces of justice was one great means of continuing the nations under Alexander's command firm in their allegiance, whether they were subdued by force of arms or yielded voluntarily, notwithstanding they were so many, and lay so remote from one another: for he would never suffer any governor of a province to injure the people committed to his care. Heracon, at that time, baffled his accusers; but being soon after seized by the Susians, and accused of demolishing a temple of theirs, he also suffered death. Stasanor and Phrataphernes* brought vast numbers of camels and beasts of burthen to the king: for when they heard that he had led his army through the country of the Gadrosi, they

^{* &}quot;The king," says Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 10, 17, "being grieved and ashamed at his being the cause of so great a mortality, dispatched messengers presently away to Phrataphernes governor of Parthia, to send him some camels laden with provisions ready drest."—Had Curtius rightly considered the vast distance between Parthia and Gadrosia, or Carmania, he would easily have found that beef or mutton, boiled or roasted, in the former province, would be so far from coming piping-hot into the other, that it would not be fit even for a Frenchman to eat. Arrian, with more judgment, tells us only, that they brought him great numbers of camels and beasts of burthen. However, they might perhaps bring him beasts for slaughter alive; but I cannot suppose the Macedonians so sharp-set, but they would rather stay the dressing, of their victuals, than choose to have them brought ready drest, in panniers, out of Parthia. But the mischief of all is, Alexander was then in Carmania, a plentiful country, and had no reason to send for provisions elsewhere.

easily imagined he would meet with all the inconveniencies and hardships imaginable, for which reason they brought him that supply; and indeed both they and the beasts arrived very seasonably. He then divided the beasts and camels, partly among the governors, and partly among the troops, centuries, and cohorts, as their number would allow, or the others' occasions required.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Some authors tell us (but with no great probability of truth) that Alexander, lying extended with his friends upon two chariots chained together, and having their ears entertained with the most delicious music, led his army through Carmania, the soldiers following him with dances and garlands; and that the Carmanians prepared all things for so pompous a procession through their territories. They also add, that this was done in emulation of the ancient Bacchanals of Dionysius;* for the story goes, that Bacchus having conquered India, passed through the greatest part of Asia in this manner, and on that account obtained the name of Triumphus; and that warlike pomps or processions have, ever since that time, been called triumphs. But as neither Ptolemy, nor Aristobulus, nor any grave and judicious author has mentioned this, let it suffice that it is not here told as any ways credible; for Aristobulus gives us a quite different account of the matter, namely, that Alexander having got safe into Carmania, gave thanks, and offered sacrifices to the gods for his victories in

^{*} Curtius has made a vast long story of this, lib. ix. cap. 10, 24, and paints it forth, like an orator, in the most glaring colours. Plutarch, p. 41, and Diodorus, p. 573, also take notice of it; to any of which authors my reader may easily have recourse for all the circumstances relating to it.

India, and the preservation of his army in the country of the Gadrosi; and tells us, that he also exhibited gymnick and musical sports, as usual. He then appointed Peucestas * to be one of his body-guards, for he designed to bestow the government of Persia upon him; and honoured him with this in the mean time, as a testimony of his favour, for his eminent service among the Malli. The number of his body-guards were then seven, Leonnatus the son of Antæus, Hephæstion the son of Amyntor, Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, Aristonus the son of Pisæus; these were Pelleans: Perdiccas the son of Orontes the Orestian. and Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Python the son of Crateas, Eordeans; but an eighth was then added, namely, Peucestas, who saved Alexander's life by defending him with his shield. About this time Nearchus, commander in chief or admiral of the royal navy, having sailed along the coast of the Oritæ, Gadrosi, and Ichthyophagi, arrived at the habitable part of the Carmanian shore; and coming to the king, related whatever had happened to him, and what he saw worthy of observation in that voyage through the foreign ocean. Hereupon he was immediately sent back to the fleet, with orders to sail to the Susian shores, and the mouth of the Tigris. But how he performed this voyage from the river Indus to the Persian Gulf and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall relate in a separate tract, from Nearchus himself, whose Greek journal thereof is still extant, and shall annex it to this History, if life allows me time and opportunity to finish it. Alexander then dispatched away Hephæstion, with the greatest part of his army, and the elephants and beasts of burthen, along the sea-coast, from Carmania into Persia; because, as he was to make that journey in the winter season, the

^{*} Some of the contents of the remaining part of this chapter are just hinted at by Curtius; but the observations thereupon I shall reserve for the Indian History.

sea-coast of that country was not only the mildest, but the fleet abounded in all things necessary for the army on board.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HE then, with his best and most expeditious lightarmed foot, his auxiliary horse, and some part of his archers, marched towards Pasargadæ, a city in Persia, having before sent Stasanor back to his own province. When he arrived on the confines of Persia, he found not Phrasaortes * his lieutenant executing his office (for he died while Alexander was employed in his Indian wars), but Orsines acted in his stead; not by any especial order, but because he deemed it not unworthy of Alexander, that a Persian should undertake the administration, since none besides were at that time capable of managing it. Atropates governor of Media came to meet the king there, and brought with him Baryaxes the Mede † (who had put the royal tiara upon his head, and presumed to style himself king of Media and Persia), and with him all his adherents, who had endeavoured to revolt, whom Alexander caused to be put to death. strangely disturbed in mind when he came to understand what havoc had been made of the tomb of

^{*} This Phrasaortes is mentioned, as being deputed governor of Persia by Alexander, lib. iii cap. 18; but he dying, Orsines took upon himself the administration of affairs. Curtius takes no notice of Phrasaortes, and gives Orsines a character vastly different from that which Arrian has allowed him, the greatest part whereof is proved to be false by Mr. Le Clerc, in the Criticism prefixed to this work.

[†] Some commentators have fancied this Baryaxes the Mede, who was brought to Alexander by Atropates, to be the same whom Curtius mentions by the name of Zariaspes the Persian, who, he says, was brought by Craterus, lib. ix. cap. 10, 19. Their stories bear some faint resemblance to each other; and it is no new thing in him to confound persons, places, and times, because he studied eloquence more than accuracy.

Cyrus,* which, Aristobulus tells us, he found rifled and broke in pieces. This tomb was placed in the royal gardens at Pasargadæ, and round it was planted a grove of all kind of trees: the place also was well watered, and the surface of the earth all round clothed with a beautiful verdure. The basis thereof consisted of one large stone of a quadrangular

* The whole story of Cyrus's tomb here is copied from Aristobulus, who was not only an eye-witness thereof, but was ordered to repair it, after it was plundered and almost demolished. Plutarch, p. 42, gives us an abridgment of some part thereof; and Strabo, p. 1061 and 1062, has related the whole, conformable to Arrian. So that there is no doubt but Curtius's narrative is a fiction. However, I shall give it my readers as follows: "Alexander," says he, lib. x. cap. 1, 30, " had commanded Cyrus's tomb to be opened, intending to perform some ceremonies in honour to his memory, as was pretended, but in reality to search for hid treasures; for it was reported all over Persia, that a vast quantity of gold and silver was piled up there; but he found nothing but a rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a rusty scimi-However, Alexander caused a crown of gold to be placed , upon the cossin, and the cloak which he was wont to wear to be spread over it; and was astonished to think that so great a monarch, and withal so rich, should have no more cost bestowed upon the interment, than one of his ordinary subjects."-Then follows the accusation of Bagoas the eunuch, against Orsines, which has been before proved inconsistent with truth and reason, and so indeed is the whole story: for, in the first place, Alexander did not command Cyrus's tomb to be opened, but some thieves had broken it open and rifled it (whilst he was in India), carrying away all they could possibly remove. Plutarch, p. 42, tells us, he put Polymachus to death for this, though he was a man of quality and a native of Pella. Strabo affirms, that it was not done by the governor, but by a parcel of robbers, p. 1062. And Arrian assures us, that though the Magi were seized and examined with the utmost strictness concerning that affair, nothing was found out. Secondly, whereas he says " nothing was found in the tomb but a rotten shield, &c."—This must be false, for both Arrian and Strabo tell us the contrary; so that Alexander could not be seized with so much astonishment, to think of the meanness of his interment; for, by the remains of what he then saw, he might easily form a judgment of what had once been there. Besides, Alexander had either seen it himself before, or at least Aristobulus had, and undoubtedly gave him a description thereof. Aristobulus was then ordered to see it repaired, exactly as it was at first.

form. Above was a small edifice, with an arched roof of stone, and a door or entrance so very narrow that the slenderest man could scarce pass through. Within this edifice was the golden coffin, wherein the body of Cyrus was preserved, as also the bed, whose supporters were of massy gold, curiously wrought; the covering thereof was of Babylonian tapestry, the carpets underneath of the finest wrought purple; the cloak and other royal robes were of Babylonian, but his drawers of Median, workmanship. Their colour was chiefly purple; but some of them were of various The chain round his neck, his bracelets, his ear-rings, and his sword, were all of gold, adorned with precious stones. A costly table was also placed there, and a bed, whereon lay the coffin which contained the king's body. There was also, within the enclosure, nigh the ascent to the tomb, a small house built for the Magi, who had the keeping of the tomb: that charge was conferred on them by Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and descended from the fathers to their They had a sheep allowed every day for their maintenance, with a certain quantity of wine and flour; and a horse was sent them once every month, to sacrifice to Cyrus. The inscription,* which was wrote in the Persian language, was to this purpose: O mortal, I am CYRUS the son of CAMBUSES, founder of the Persian monarchy, and sovereign of Asia; grudge me not therefore this monument.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, has given us this inscription somewhat fuller: he says it was written in the Persian language; but Alexander commanded this to be carved in Greek, below the other: O man, whoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest (for I know thou wilt come), I am Cynus, founder of the Persian monarchy; envy me not therefore the small portion of earth wherein my body lies enclosed.

CHAPTER XXX.

ALEXANDER had had a vast ambition of seeing this monument, from the moment he became lord of the Persian monarchy; but at his coming there, he found all gone, except the bed and coffin: nay, they had not even spared the royal body; for the cover of the coffin was torn off and taken away, and the body cast forth; they had attempted also to carry off the coffin, and had accordingly battered and bruised it much, by endeavouring to break it in pieces, for the more easy conveyance; but not being able to compass their designs, they were forced to leave it. Aristobulus assures us, that he was appointed by Alexander to see this monument restored; that the parts of the royal body which still remained, should be again laid in the coffin, and a new cover be made; that whatever was broke, should be made whole; that the bed should be adorned with crowns and other ornaments, like those which had been taken away, the same both as to number, form, and value; and that the entrance into the little edifice should be walled up with stone, and the royal signet applied thereto. After this, Alexander seized the Magi, and examined them strictly concerning the authors of this villany; but they would neither confess any thing of themselves nor others; and there being no proof against them, they were acquitted. He then returned to the royal palace of the Persian monarchs, which he had before laid in ashes; which act of his I can neither commend, nor did he himself approve it at his return. many crimes were brought against Orsines,* who had

^{*} It is a great pity, that the character which Curtius has given this Orsines is not just, and that the crimes laid to his charge cannot be imputed only as malicious accusations of Bagoas the eunuch; but the contrary appears here from Arrian's narration, and is much more probable.

assumed the administration of affairs in Persia, after the decease of Phrasaortes the governor; as his spoiling their temples, defacing the royal monuments, and putting many of the Persians unjustly to death; whereupon he was ordered to be crucified. After this, Peucestas,* one of his body-guards (for his singular merit in many instances, but especially for preserving his life among the Malli, with the hazard of his own), was made governor of Persia. He was a man who conformed himself to the customs of that nation; and, in order to endear himself to them the more, no sooner entered upon his government, than he arrayed himself in the Median habit, learned the Persian language, and was the only one among the Macedonians who showed an exact conformity to them in all respects; and this demeanour of his not only gained him Alexander's applause, but the Persians gladly received him, because he seemed to prefer their habits and manners to those of his own country.

^{*} This advancement of Peucestas to the government of Persia, and making him one of his body-guards, is not taken notice of by Curtius, unless perhaps it might have been in the chasm which presently follows. However, he has obliged us with an extraordinary piece of news from Cænus, lib. x. cap. 1, 43, concerning the posture of affairs in Greece.—This, his commentators have been justly startled at, because Cænus was long before that time dead in India, according to his own account, lib. ix. cap. 3, 20, upon which, some were for transplanting the paragraph, and fixing it elsewhere; but Freinshemius, finding that would not do, has devised a much better, viz. by expunging the name, and the Delphini editor has followed his advice. However, perhaps Curtius was of the opinion with the present race of negro-slaves in the West-Indies, that when a person dies abroad, he goes home into his own country.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

WHILE Alexander tarried at Pasargadæ and Persepolis, he began to entertain a strange desire of sailing down the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Sea, and of observing their mouths, in the same manner as he had already observed those of the river Indus. Some authors * tell us, he also designed to sail along

* "Alexander," says Curtius, lib. x. cap. 1, 17, " began to entertain vast designs, intending first to conquer all the sea-coast of the Eastern world, and then to pass from Syria into Africa, to be revenged upon the Carthaginians. From thence he was to merch through the deserts of Numidia, and sail to Gades; for there it was reported that Hercules had fixed his pillars. he proposed to march through Spain, and passing over the Alps into Italy, take the nearest way to Epirus; and accordingly he issued out orders to his deputies in Mesopotamia, to cut down wood in Libanus, and convey it to Thapsaces, a city in Syria, to build therewith vast ships, all septiremes, and from thence convey them down the stream to Babylon."-This he vouches for truth; but I much doubt it, for several reasons: First, How could he propose to convey his fleet from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean, no passage being then found out? Secondly, As Libanus is in Syria, he ought to have sent orders to his deputies there, and not to those in Mesopotamia, to cut down timber for his navy: Thirdly, If he really designed to convey his fleet out of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, into the Mediterranean, it had been much more proper, instead of building ships at Thapsacus, and conveying them to Babylon, to have conveyed his whole fleet from Babylon to Thapsacus, and thence by carriages over-land to Tripolis, or Sidon, or some other port in the Mediterranean. This had been practicable; but Curtius was ignorant of the situation of the country, and has therefore made Alexander give very foolish orders.

the Arabian and Æthiopian coast, as also to Libva and Numidia, and beyond Mount Atlas, even to Gades, and our Sea; and that when he had subdued Africa and reduced Carthage, he imagined he might justly be styled King of the World, when the Persian and Median monarchs, who held but a small and inconsiderable part, entitled themselves Lords of Asia. Others say, that his ambition prompted him to sail through the Euxine Sea, against the Scythians dwelling near the Palus Mæotis; and others, that he proposed to coast round Sicily, by the promontory Iapygium; for then it was that the Roman name began to spread far and wide, and gave him much umbrage. Thus are authors divided in their opinions concerning his ambitious designs. As for my part, I can neither tell for certain what he designed, nor care much to proceed to guess-work; only this, I think, I may affirm, that he entertained no mean nor trifling ideas, and that what part of the earth soever he had proceeded to conquer, he would never have been satisfied, even though he had joined Europe to Asia, and the British Islands to Europe, but would always have been roving after some places more remote from human knowledge; and if he could have found no other foe to have encountered, his own mind would have kept him in a continual state of warfare. And on this account I cannot forbear giving a due praise to some of the Indian sages,* who, as they were

We have not a word of these Indian sages in Curtius, though perhaps his account of them, if ever he wrote any, might have perished in one of the chasms of his tenth book. Plutarch, p. 39, tells us, that "Alexander took ten of them prisoners, who had been the most active in persuading Sabbas to rebel, and put several difficult questions to them; letting them know, at the same time, that those whose answers were not to the purpose, should be put to death; and he appointed the eldest of them to be judge." The questions, with their answers, he gives us; but they are too long for my present design, for which reason I shall refer my readers for satisfaction to his Life of Alexander. They were called Gymnosophists by the Greeks, because they went naked.

walking in the meads, where they were wont to meditate, being seized and carried before him and his army, only stamped upon the ground with their feet; and when the king, by his interpreter, inquired the reason thereof, he received an answer to this effect: "Every man, O Alexander, possesses as much earth as we now tread upon; and thou art a man no way different from others, but in making a greater stir, in being more restless, and in creating more trouble both to thyself and others, by roving so far from thy native soil: but in a short time thou shalt die, and then shalt thou possess no more space than will serve thy body for burial."

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER praised the reflections of these sages, and owned their observations to be just; yet, nevertheless, he ceased not to act contrary to their advice. He is also said to have admired Diogenes * the Sinopean, whom he found on the Corinthian isthmus, basking himself in the sun; and when he (with a band of targeteers and auxiliary foot, his attendants) drew near, and asked him if he wanted any thing? the Cynic answered, "Nothing, but only that he and his train would retire a little out of his sun-shine." By both these instances we may plainly perceive, that Alexander showed no aversion to the wise admonitions of philosophers, only his insatiable thirst of glory hurried him away after other pursuits. When he arrived at the city Taxila, and saw that sect of Indians who went naked, he was surprised at their

^{*} Plutarch, p. 8, gives us this story at length, much to the same purpose; only he adds, that "Alexander was so affected with his answer, and surprised at the greatness of his soul, that, as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the Cynic, That if he were not Alexander, he would rather choose to be Diogenes than any other man."

extraordinary patience in enduring hardships, and desirous that one of their number would accompany him: but the eldest and most venerable among them, Dandamis* by name, whose dictates the rest obeyed, made answer, "That he would neither accompany him himself, nor suffer any of his followers so to do: that he was Jove's son, as well as Alexander: that he wanted nothing from him, being content with what he already enjoyed." And also added, "That he and his soldiers, who had roved over so many lands and seas, seemed to have no real benefit thereby, nor to fix any bounds to their excessive toils: he said he had nothing to request, which was in another's power to bestow, and should be no ways concerned, if what he already had should be taken from him; for the climate of that country would always afford fruits in their seasons, sufficient for his sustenance; and whenever he died, he should without reluctancy part with his body as a disagreeable companion." When Alexander heard this, he would not force him to follow him; but he prevailed upon Calanus,† one of their number, whom Megasthenes for that reason condemns of inconstancy, and the rest of the sages accused of folly, for leaving the felicity which they thought themselves possessed of, and acknowledging any other god except the Supreme Being.

^{*} Plutarch, p. 40, acquaints us, that "Dandamis, hearing Onesicritus talk of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him, he thought them men of great parts, and to have erred in nothing so much as in being too partial for the laws and constitutions of their country: though others say, he only asked him the reason why Alexander undertook so long a voyage into these parts."—This last seems a little to correspond with what we have in Arrian. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1043, in his account thereof, differs not much from Plutarch; only he calls him Mandanis.

[†] Plutarch assures us, that when Onesicritus was sent by Alexander to desire those Gymnosophists to come to him, this Calanus very arrogantly commanded him to strip, and hear what he said naked, otherwise he would not speak one word to him, though he came from Jove himself; however, Dandamis used him more courteously.

CHAPTER III.

THESE things I have thought fit to record concerning Calanus, because he deserves a place in this History; for when he afterwards came to be sick in Persia, as he had never been in his own country, he could not endure to confine himself to the rules and diet prescribed to infirm people, but rather chose to address the king, telling him, that he should esteem it a singular happiness to die in the state wherein he was, before he came to feel any disorder which might force him to change his ancient way of living. king, at first, strenuously opposed his request; but finding him inflexible, (and that if one sort of death was denied him he would seek another,) ordered a pile to be built,* according to his desire, and committed the oversight of the affair to Ptolemy the son of Lagus. Some add, that all preparations for that solemnity, of horses and men, as well armed as unarmed, were made by Alexander himself; and that some were appointed to strow divers sorts of perfumes and aromatics upon the pile; others, to bring vessels of gold and silver, and royal apparel. And because his indisposition was such as hindered him

^{*} Strabo has given us a prodigious deal concerning the death of this Calanus, in his fifteenth book, p. 1045, &c.: and Plutarch has told the story pretty full. He says, p. 42, that "Calanus having been a little while troubled with a looseness, requested that he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horseback; and after he had said a few prayers, sprinkled himself, and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, as was usual on such occasions; before he ascended it, he took leave of the Macedonians who stood by, desiring them to pass that day in mirth and good-fellowship with their king, whom, in a little time, he said, he doubted not but to see again at Babylon. Having thus spoke, he lay down, and covering himself, stirred not when the fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself, according to the ancient custom of the sages of his country."

from walking, a horse was ordered him; but finding himself incapable to mount on horseback, he chose to be carried in a litter, crowned and adorned after the Indian manner, while he sung hymns in his own language to the gods of his country. The horse which he should have mounted (being of the Nesæan breed) he bestowed upon Lysimachus, who had been one of his hearers, and was an admirer of his wisdom; but the cups and costly furniture of all sorts, which the king had given to adorn the pile, he ordered to be distributed among several then present: afterwards ascending the pile, he lay down decently thereupon, in sight of the whole army. The king, indeed, deemed it improper for him to be there in person, because he was his friend; but to all who were there, it was an amazing sight, to see the body lie still in the midst of the flames, without the least motion. As soon as they who were deputed for that purpose had lighted the pile, Nearchus tells us, the trumpets began to sound (for so the king had ordered), and the whole army gave a shout, as when they join battle with an The elephants also made a dreadful and warlike noise, to grace the funeral of Calanus. These, and such like things, grave authors have asserted concerning this sage; and this is an example of no mean import to those who study mankind, to show how firm and unalterable the mind of man is, when custom or education has taken full possession thereof.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER after this dispatched Atropates away to his government, and himself marched to Susa, where Abulites * and his son Oxathres, being accused

^{*} Cartius has not given us any account of the exemplary punishment inflicted on these two persons; but Plutarch, who has been very particular concerning it, tells us, p. 41, that "Alexander punished all those governors who had not behaved

of mal-administration in the affairs of that province, were seized and put to death. Many horrid crimes were indeed committed by those who were deputed to govern the conquered countries; such as spoiling temples, defacing sepulchres, and putting innocent men to death: for the king's expedition against India, seemed an attempt which would take up much time; and it was not indeed probable he would ever return safe, where there were so many warlike nations stored with elephants to subdue, and so many vast rivers to pass over. The straits to which the army was reduced among the Gadrosi, had also reached the ears of the governor of this province; and these considerations put together, made him lay aside all thoughts of ever being called to account for his barbarous rapine and injustice. And indeed the king was now much readier to give credit to accusations than formerly, and inflicted the severest punishments upon the slightest offenders, because he imagined they had greater and more flagrant mischiefs in their heads. After this, he proceeded to the celebration of his own and his friend's nuptials at Susa; he himself took to wife Barsine,* the eldest daughter of Darius, and, besides her, another named Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus; for he had before that time married Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. Drypetis, another of Darius's daugh-

themselves well, particularly Oxathres the son of Abulites, whom he killed with his own hand, by thrusting him through the body with a spear. And when Abulites, instead of the necessary provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him 3000 talents in money, ready coined, he ordered it to be thrown to his horses, who not meddling with it, 'What good,' says the king to him, 'does this provision do me?' and sent him to prison."—Where it is very likely he was put to death; for we hear nothing of him afterwards.

* This Barsine is called Statira, by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch; though Curtius never mentions her as betrothed by Alexander, but once, lib. x. cap. 3, 12, and then without a name; neither have we one word of those solemn espousals which were celebrated at Susa with so much royal pomp and magnificence.

ters. he bestowed upon Hephæstion; for he was resolved that Hephæstion's children should be joined in affinity with his own. Amastrine, the daughter of Oxyartes, brother to Darius, he gave to Craterus; the daughter of Atropates, governor of Media, to Perdiccas; the daughters of Artabazus, to Ptoleiny one of his body-guards, and Eumenes his secretary; to the first, Artacamas, and to the last, Artonis. Nearchus, he gave the daughter of Barsine and Mentor; to Seleucus, the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian; and on the rest of his friends, he bestowed the daughters of the most illustrious Medes and Persians in marriage, to the number of eighty. nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. seats being placed for those who were to be married. according to their several ranks, and a royal entertainment prepared. After this, the brides were ushered in, and placed by their bridegrooms, who, giving them their right hands, received them with a The king himself began the ceremony, and their marriage rites were all solemnized together. This act of Alexander was a popular one, and served to endear him to both parties. He bestowed dowries on all of them. The names of the rest of the Macedonians who had married Asiatic wives, he commanded to be recorded, for their whole number amounted to above ten thousand;* on all whom, nevertheless, he bestowed gifts, according to their several ranks or stations in the army.

^{*} Plutarch, p. 42, gives us an account of 9000; but he seems not to mean those who then took Asiatic wives, but the guests who were present at the solemnity. However, he tells us that the king, as an instance of his royal bounty, bestowed on each a golden cup, to use in their libations of wine in honour of the gods.

CHAPTER V.

AND that he might omit nothing which could any ways contribute to render him popular, he took up a resolution to inquire what debts his whole army had contracted, and discharged them all out of his own coffers. But when he issued out an order, that every one who owed any thing should give in his name, and the sum; few were willing to comply therewith, fearing that he used this as an artifice, to find out which of them could not live within the bounds of his own stipend. However, when he came to understand that many neglected to obey his commands, and that every one concealed his reasons for so doing, as well as the debts be had contracted, he only reproved their distrust of his royal bounty, by assuring them, that a king ought always to be sincere to his subjects, and that they should not presume to bring the veracity of his intentions in question. Hereupon tables were placed regularly throughout the camp, with money upon them, and officers deputed to distribute it, he ordering the full debts of all to be paid to their creditors, without so much as recording the debtors' names. They then plainly perceived the sincerity of his intentions towards them, and he laid no less an obligation upon them, by not inquiring their names, than by discharging their debts. This extraordinary munificence bestowed on the army, is said to have taken twenty thousand talents.* He moreover bestowed

^{*} Curtius tells us, lib. x. cap. 2, 11, "that ten thousand talents were laid upon the tables to be distributed, out of which the king received back one hundred and thirty, after all the debts of the army were discharged; so that only nine thousand eight hundred and seventy were paid away."—And in this he agrees with Diodorus and Plutarch. Justin, lib. xii. cap. 11, reckons twenty thousand expended on this occasion. It is no difficult matter to reconcile all these authors in this story; for Arrian assures us, at the beginning of the twelfth chapter of this

other gifts on particular persons, according to their dignity, or the rank they had acquired in the army. To those who had done some gallant action, he gave crowns of gold; The first of these was presented to Peucestas,* who saved his life among the Malli: The second to Leonnatus, who had his share in that act, and had encountered many dangers among the Indians; had gained him a victory over the Oritæ; and returning with his forces into the camp, quelled an insurrection there, and done many brave actions besides: The third was given to Nearchus, for conveying his fleet safe from the Indian to the Persian coast; for he was then present in Susa: The fourth was bestowed on Onesicritus, governor of the royal galley: and others were then distributed to Hephæstion and the rest of his body-guards.

CHAPTER VI.

About this time, the governors of the new cities which he had built, and some of the provinces which he had subdued, came to him, and brought with them thirty thousand young men,† all of the same age, all using

book, that the king, besides this gratuity, bestowed a talent a-piece on ten thousand old Macedonian soldiers, whom he then sent home, to defray the expenses of their journey:—that ten thousand, added to the like number given before to pay their debts, will make Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch, quadrate with Justin and Arrian. Plutarch, p. 42, tells us a story of one Antigenes, who had lost an eye, and though he owed nothing, got his name recorded among those who were in debt.—I have not room for the remaining part; however, the story is not very probable, because it is generally agreed that none of the debtors gave in their names.

This gratuity bestowed on those four chief officers, neither Curtius, nor Plutarch, nor any other author which I have seen, take the least notice of.

† Plutarch assures us, p. 29, that "these thirty thousand boys were chosen out of many of the conquered provinces, when Alexander was yet in Hyrcania, before he marched into India; the Macedonian arms, and skilled in their military discipline; and those he nominated his Epigoni, or successors. However, his old Macedonian soldiers were much displeased at the arrival of these, imagining that the king contrived all possible means to rid himself of his countrymen. They were also dissatisfied by seeing him appear in Median robes; and the solemnization of the marriage rites before mentioned, after the Persian manner, not only disgusted many, but even some of those who had been so married, how much soever they thought themselves honoured before, by the king's presence and marriage among them. They murmured much at Peucestas, governor of Persia, because, in his speech as well as habit, he wholly Persianized; and not a little at Alexander himself, because he seemed pleased with such affectation of the Barbarian language and customs. They also took it heavily, that Bactrians, Sogdians, Arachoti, Zarangi, Arians, Parthians, and Persians, were every where encouraged, and admitted into his auxiliary troops, if they were found to excel others, either in birth, beauty, or valour; and were no less disturbed, that a fifth regiment of horse was added. which, though it consisted not wholly of Barbarians, yet upon an augmentation of the whole body of horse, many Barbarians were introduced; and that Cophes, the son of Artabazus: Hydarnes and Artiboles, the

that he allowed them masters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to arms in the Macedonian discipline; and this he did, to bring the Barbarians as near the Macedonian customs as possible. These boys," he affirms, p. 43, " the king found so much improved at his return, both in strength and beauty, and they performed their exercises so well, and with such agility, that he was wonderfully pleased with them."—I cannot forbear imagining these to be the same whom Curtius tells us Alexander raised out of all the provinces of the empire, immediately before his march into India, and took them with him. However, he has mangled the story so much, that did not the numbers exactly agree, we should hardly suspect it to be the same. See Curt. lib. viii. cap. 5, 1.

sons of Mazzeus; Pharasmenes and Sisines, sons of Phrataphernes the governor of Parthia and Hyrcania; Itanes, the son of Oxyartes, and brother to Roxane, Alexander's wife; besides Ægobares and his brother Mithrobæus, were advanced into the Macedonian agema and that Hydaspes, a Bactrian, was appointed their captain; as also because Macedonian spears were allowed them, instead of the darts in use among Barbarians. These were all so many occasions of discontent to his old soldiers; who from thence concluded, that he was about to degenerate into the customs of Barbarians, and would on that account not only slight and despise those of his own country, but his countrymen themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

THEN* he committed the best part of his foot-forces to Hephæstion's care, to conduct them to the Persian Gulf; while he, going on board his fleet, which lay ready at Susa, with his targeteers and agema, and some part of his auxiliary horse, sailed down the river Eulæus to the sea. And when he was now not far from the mouth thereof, leaving there those ships which were shattered and out of order, he with the best of them sailed out to the ocean, and then entered the mouth of the river Tigris, the rest of the fleet passing through a canal drawn from thence to the Tigris; for of the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, which enclose Assyria, and give it the name of Meso-

^{*}The whole contents of this chapter are not so much as hinted at by any other author; and for want of a due consideration thereof, Freinshemius has committed an oversight in his supplement to a chasm in Curtius; for he makes this sedition of the soldiers to happen before their departure from Susa; and yet in their march towards Ecbatana, he causes them to pass the Tigris and come to Susa again.

potamia, the channel of the Tigris lying much lower, receives the water of the latter by many trenches: and several streams also falling into its own bosom, it becomes a great river before it glides into the Persian Gulf; insomuch that it is every where impassable by a ford; for it spreads not out in breadth, so as to diminish its depth, the lands on both sides being much higher than the water; and it is not dispersed through other channels, nor conveyed into other rivers, but takes them into itself. But the Euphrates glides along a much higher channel, and is in many places of equal height with the lands on each side, so that several streams are cut from it; some constant ones, which supply the inhabitants with water; others only occasional, when the neighbouring countries happen to be parched up with drought (for rains seldom fall in these parts); whence it happens that the Euphrates, at its entrance into the ocean, is but a small river, and easily fordable. Alexander sailed first down the river Eulæus to the sea, and thence along the Persian Gulf, and up the Tigris, to his camp, where Hephæstion, with the forces under his command, waited his arrival. Thence steering his course to Opis, a city on that river, he commanded all the wears, and other impediments which he met with, to be pulled up, and the channel to be cleared. These wears were put down by the Persians, who were unskilled in maritime affairs, to render the navigation of that river so difficult, as to hinder any enemy's fleet from invading them that way. However, Alexander looked upon them as the contrivance of cowards; and as they were little hinderance to him, knowing they would be of no use, he ordered them to be entirely cleared away, and the river laid open.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHEN he arrived at Opis, he called his forces together, and issued out a declaration, "That all of them, who by age, infirmity, or loss of limbs, found themselves unable to undergo the fatigues of war, should be freely discharged, and at full liberty to return But * whoever were inclined to stay with him, should taste so largely of his royal bounty, as to become the envy of those who tarried at home, and excite other Macedonians freely to share their toils and dangers with them." This declaration was made by Alexander with a design to please the Macedonians, but it had a contrary effect; for they interpreting it, as if they were despised, or deemed useless in any further warlike enterprise, were vehemently enraged, and took that discourse as levelled against them, which was designed for the army in general. Howbeit, upon this occasion, all their former complaints were renewed; namely, his compliance with the Persians in their habit; his allowing the Macedonian habit to be worn by youths who were Barbarians, and styling them their successors; and his admission of strange horse into the auxiliary forces: wherefore they were no longer able to contain themselves, but all of them entreated to be absolved from their military oath. 'Nay, some proceeded so far as to insult him, by telling him, that he and his father

^{*} We have this story otherwise told by Curtius, lib. x. cap. 2, 16; for he says, "Alexander assured his soldiers that he would shortly visit his native country, and carry them home."—This assertion of his, is not only contradicted by Arrian, but by Athenæus, lib. xii. cap. 9; for he seemed much more inclined to fix the imperial seat somewhere in Asia, either in Arabia, according to Eustathius in his comment upon Dionysius, vers. 995, from the conclusion of Strabo's sixteenth book; or rather, as the same Strabo assures us in his fifteenth, at Babylon.

Hammon might, for the future, join their forces, and wage war against their enemies. Alexander no sooner heard these words, (for he was now much more subject to wrath than heretofore,) but leaping instantly from his seat where his captains surrounded him, he commanded the chief of those who endeavoured to excite the multitude to sedition to be seized, and pointed with his hand to his targeteers, to show them whom they should seize. These were thirteen in number,† all whom he commanded immediately to be put to death; whereat, while the rest stood amazed, and kept silence,

" "The whole camp," says Curtius, lib. x. cap. 2, 12, 13, "was filled with seditious speeches; and the soldiers came boldly into the king's presence, and demanded leave for all to return home; protesting, at the same time, that they would not stir one foot from that place, but towards their native country."—Plutarch, p. 43, gives us a far more particular account thereof; for he says, that "the Macedonian soldiers who were old and infirm, finding they were to be sent away, cried out, that they were unjustly and infamously dealt with, to be turned away thus in disgrace, after they had been worn out in his service, and sent home in a worse condition than they were when they went abroad: Wherefore they desired him, one and all, to dismiss them, and account his Macedonians useless, now he was so well furnished with dancing boys, with whom, if he pleased, he might conquer the world." Justin has given us this almost in the very words of Arrian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

† Curtius tells us, " he made a very long speech first;"-If Alexander did not, he has done it for him, -" which having finished, he instantly leaped from his throne, and threw himself into the midst of the armed and enraged multitude, and with his own hand seized on some whom he had observed notoriously impudent and forward in the sedition, thirteen of whom, not daring to resist, he committed to close custody," lib. x. cap. 2, 30.— Two or three days after this (as may be gathered from the circumstances of the story), he ordered them to be thrown into the river bound, where they perished miserably, lib. x. cap. 4, 2, 3. -Now will I appeal to the common reason of mankind; First, whether it be natural for a prince to sit haranguing upon his throne for an hour together, while his subjects are bawling sedition all round him, and pelting him with treasonable speeches on both sides of his head: and, Secondly, when he had seized the most notorious and forward, whether it is at all probable, that he would keep them two or three days, and then put them to death in cold blood.

he again mounted his tribunal, and spoke to this effect.

CHAPTER IX.

"FAR* be it from me, O my Macedonians, to endeayour to divert you from your desires of returning home, (you having a free liberty to go whenever you think convenient,) but I will that you understand, before your departure, how much you are changed from what once you were. And first, to begin, as I ought, with my father Philip: He received you into his protection, a poor, wandering, and unsettled people; many of you clothed with skins, and feeding small flocks of sheep upon the mountains, which yet you could not keep without continual skirmishes with the Illyrians, Triballi, and Thracians, your neighbours, in which you were often unsuccessful. For shepherds' coats of skins, my father arrayed you in the choicest garments; from the barren mountains, he led you down into the fruitful plains, and instructed you in military discipline, so that you had no more occasion to place your safety in rough and inaccessible mountains, but in your own valour. He gave you cities to dwell in, and excellent laws and statutes to be governed by. He gained you also the sovereignty over those Barbarians, who afore-time continually harassed and insulted you, and from a state of slavery made you free. He added a great part of Thrace to Macedonia, and, by reducing the towns upon the seacoast, set open the gate to commerce. He it was that subdued the Thessalians, who were formerly so terrible to you, and made them your servants; and, having overcome the Phocæans, opened a wide and convenient entrance for you into Greece, instead of

^{*} Curtius and Arrian have each put a speech into Alexander's mouth on this occasion. As the genius of the two authors were vastly different, so are the speeches: but I shall leave the comparison between them to my readers.

The Athenians and Theone narrow and difficult. bans, who had joined in confederacy against you, he so humbled, (myself being present to assist him,) that whereas we were, before that time, tributaries to the former and slaves to the latter, on the contrary, now both these cities are under our protection. tered Peloponnesus, and composing matters there. was constituted general of all the Grecian forces, in the intended expedition against the Persians, and thereby acquired, not only glory to himself, but also to the Macedonian name and nation. Those were my father's bounties to you: great ones indeed, if considered by themselves, but small if compared with mine. For when I succeeded to my father's kingdom, I found some golden and silver cups indeed, but scarce sixty talents in his treasury, though I was charged with a debt of his of five hundred. However, not discouraged by this, I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred talents. I marched out of Macedonia. which was scarce able to sustain you, and led you safe over the Hellespont, though the Persians then held the sovereignty of the sea. Then having beaten Darius's generals in battle, I thereby added Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias and Lydia, to the Macedonian empire. I afterwards took Miletus by assault, and received the voluntary homage of many other people and nations, who submitted themselves, and consented to become tributaries. The treasures of Ægypt and Cyrene, which we obtained without blows, helped to fill your coffers; Cœlo-Syria, Palæstina, and Mesopotamia, are in your possession. Babylon, Bactria, and Susa, are in your power. The wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the riches of India, and the ocean, are yours. You are constituted deputies of provinces. You are made captains, princes, and generals of armies. What, I beseech you, have I reserved to myself, for all the toils I have undergone. except this purple robe and diadem? I have withheld nothing from you; neither can any mortal show.

a treasure in my custody, besides what is either yours, or preserved for your use. I have no private desires to gratify, that I should hoard up wealth on that account; for I observe the same diet with yourselves, and am satisfied with the same portion of rest. Nay, I have been contented with coarser food than many among you, who live deliciously; and I have often watched for you, that you might sleep in ease and safety.

CHAPTER X.

"Some may perhaps insinuate, that all these were acquired by your own toils and dangers, in which I, your general, bore no part; but who dares affirm. that he has run greater hazards for me, than I have for him? See, which of you has received wounds, let him open his bosom and show the scars, and I will show mine; for there is none of the forepart of my body free; nor is there any kind of weapon which is either thrust forward by hand, or darted, the marks whereof are not plainly to be traced upon this breast of mine; for I have been wounded with swords in close fight, and with darts and arrows at a distance; besides, I have been beat to the ground by stones from the enemy's engines; and notwithstanding I have suffered so much for your sakes, by stones, and clubs, and swords, and missive weapons, yet have I led you victorious through all lands, over all seas, rivers, hills, and plain countries. I solemnized your nuptials with my own, that your children might claim affinity with mine. The debts of my whole army I freely discharged, without examining too strictly how they were contracted; and not withstanding the vast stipends you then received, you made no small advantage of the plunder of such cities as you took by Add to this, that I bestowed crowns of gold on many of you, as eternal monuments of your valour, and my esteem for you; and whoever chanced to fall

in battle valiantly fighting, he, over and above the glory which he then acquired by death, was usually honoured with a sumptuous monument. Nay, brazen statues are erected, as testimonies of the valour of some of them in Macedonia, and honours decreed their parents, with a full immunity from all public taxes and impositions; for none of you, fighting under my banner, had ever any occasion to turn his back And now I had determined to reupon an enemy. lease such of you who are unable any longer to endure the fatigues of war, and send you home so loaden with honours and rewards, that your countrymen and fellow-citizens should deem you above measure fortunate and happy. But since ye are all of one mind, and since the same notion of returning has possessed all of you, go all, and report at home, that your king Alexander, who had subdued the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacæ; who had tamed the Uxii, Aracoti and Drangæ; who had reduced the Parthians. Chorasmians and Hyrcanians, and penetrated as far as the Caspian Sea; who had forced his way over Mount Caucasus, and through the Caspian streights; who had passed the rivers Oxus, and Tanais, and Indus (which last was never passed before, unless by Bacchus); who had ferried over the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hydraotes; and had also led you beyond the Hyphasis, if you had not refused to follow him; who entered the ocean by both the mouths of the river Indus; and afterwards, marching through. the barren and sandy country of the Gadrosi, (where none ever carried an army safe before,) subdued the Carmanians and Oritæ; who, lastly, having conveyed his fleet from the coasts of India to the Persian Sea, brought you safe and victorious to Susa; -Tell your countrymen, I say, that after all these great and glorious acts done for you, you have forsaken him, departed from him, and left him in the hands and under the care of the Barbarians, whom he had conquered. When you shall have told all these things, your glory

among men, and the notion of your piety towards the gods, will receive a mighty improvement."

CHAPTER XI.

HAVING * thus spoke, he leaped suddenly from his seat, and retiring into the palace, neither put on his royal robes, nor admitted any of his friends to see him that day nor the next; and on the third, having called the Persian nobility round him, he distributed the command of the several troops among them; and as many of them as he had made his relations, he suffered to kiss him. But the Macedonians, moved with their king's speech, stood before the tribunal like people astonished, and kept a profound silence; nor did one of their number offer to accompany the king when he retired to his palace, except his friends and body-guards, who surrounded him. However, many stood still before the tribunal, and refused to depart, though they neither knew what they should do nor say there. But when they came to understand what he had bestowed upon the Medes and Persians; namely, the several commands of the army; and that the Barbarians were distributed into several ranks and

* From this place, there is a vast chasm in Curtius, even to Alexander's death, which has been filled up by an unknown and unskilful hand. However, Freinshemius, who has taken so much pains with all the rest of the work, has also given us a supplement here. Curtius furnished us with three speeches, on account of the late mutiny among the soldiery; one from Alexander to the Macedonians; the second from him to the Persians, wherein, among other things, he tells them, lib. x. cap. 3, 11, "that he had married the daughter of Oxartes the Persian."-That Oxartes, or Oxarthus, or Oxyartes, was a Bactrian, Arrian has told us twenty times over; besides Curtius forgets himself strangely, for no further off than lib. viii. cap. 2, 10, he assures us, he was of the same nation with Sysimithres, whom all allow to be a Bactrian or a Sogdian. His third speech is from one of the Macedonians, who had been condemned to die, on account of the late tumult.

orders; that the Persian agena was to be called by a Macedonian name; and the troops of auxiliary foot. and others, to be made up of Persians; that the targeteers, and all the royal cohort of horse, were to consist of Persians; and that the regiment of Persians was to be nominated the Royal Regiment; they were no longer able to contain themselves, but running straight in a body to the palace, laid down their arms before the gate, as a sign of submission and repentance: then standing without, they begged to be admitted into the king's presence, promising that they would deliver up the authors of the late tumult, and those who had stirred them to sedition; and withal protesting, that they would never stir from his gate, day nor night, unless they could move him to take compassion upon them. When Alexander came to understand this, he immediately came forth to them: and perceiving them humble and dejected, was so much moved with their sorrow and lamentation, that he wept, and stood some time as though he would bave spoke, but they remained in the same suppliant posture. However, at last, Callines, belonging to the auxiliary troop of horse, a man of much esteem, as well for his age as the command he bore, spoke to this effect: "Thy Macedonians, O king, are grieved and discontented, because thou hast made some of the Persians thy relations, honoured them with the title of thy kindred, and sufferest them to kiss thee. when, at the same time, they are excluded." Then Alexander interrupting him, replied, "I now make you all my kindred, and shall henceforth style you so." With that Callines stepped forward and kissed him; and such others, as pleased, followed his ex-Whereupon they again took up their arms, and with shouts of joy and songs returned to the camp. After this, he sacrificed to the gods, according to the custom of his country, and prepared a royal banquet, which he graced with his presence, where the Macedonians were placed nearest his person;

ment these, the Persians; and then those of all other mations, according to their dignity, or the post they held in the army. Then the king and all his guests drank out of the same cup; the Grecian augurs, as well as the Persian magi, pronouncing their decrees, wishing prosperity to the king and the army, and praying for eternal concord and unanimity between the Macedonians and Persians, for the common benefit of both nations. Nine thousand guests are said to have been present at this entertainment, who all drank out of the same cup, and all joined in the same songs for the peace and safety of the army.

CHAPTER XII.

THEN such of the Macedonians as were unable to follow the army, by reason of age or loss of limbs. were freely discharged, to the number of about ten thousand, who were not only paid their full stipends, according to the time they had served, but each had a talent given him, over and above what was his due, to defray the expenses of his journey. Those among them who had married Asiatic wives, and had children by them, were ordered to leave their sons behind, lest they should be the cause of a sedition in Macedonia, if both the sons and their mothers were sent together. However, he took care to instruct them in the Macedonian manners, and to teach them their military discipline; that so, when they arrived at manhood, he might bring them home, and deliver them, thus accomplished, to their parents. These uncertain and precarious things, he promised them at their

Justin acquaints us, lib. xii.-cap. 12, "that among his chief officers, who were then dismissed, were Polyperchon, Clitus, surnamed the White, as also Gorgias Polydamas, Amadas, and Antigenes, with eleven thousand of his veteran soldiers.—However, this Amadas is supposed to be only an error of transcribers, for such name is to be found elsewhere.

departure: but he added one sure and undoubted mark of his good-will towards them, by appointing Craterus (whom he found ever faithful to him, and whom he loved as his life) to be their captain, to conduct them safe into their own country: wherefore, wishing them all health and happiness, and weeping to behold them weep, he dismissed them, ordering Craterus, when he had finished his task of conducting them safe home, to take upon him the government of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and preside over the liberties of Greece. He moreover ordered Antipater to come to him, and bring with him other Macedonians, young and vigorous, instead of those who were dismissed. He dispatched Polyperchon away with Craterus, and gave him the next command under him, for fear any accident should happen to Craterus by the way (he being somewhat indisposed at his setting forward), and they should be destitute of a leader. There was then a report (secretly whispered about by those, who the more they seemed to endeavour to conceal the king's affairs, the more they desired to divulge them, and wickedly perverted whatever carried a face of truth to ill purposes) I say, there was a report, that Alexander, overcome with the calumnies wherewith his mother had loaded Antipater, was willing to remove him from Macedo-But perhaps this call of Antipater was not designed for his disgrace; but rather to prevent any mischief arising from their quarrels, which he might not be able to compose. Many letters had been carried to the king, wherein Antipater accused Olympias of arrogancy, cruelty, and meddling with what did not become the mother of Alexander; insomuch, that the king is said to have complained, that he was forced to pay her very dear for the ten months she carried him in her womb. Olympias, on the other hand, exclaimed against Antipater, as insolent, by reason of the command he bore, and the people's obedience to him; that he began to be altogether unmindful from

******* This is the only chasm throughout Arrian's whole work. Gronovius tells us, he was in hopes to have filled it up, out of an excellent manuscript which he had from the duke of Tuscany's library, but was disappointed. He is of opinion, that it has been a leaf torn out of all the manuscript copies then in being, because some paragraph there might give offence to the primitive Christians; but I can see no reason which could induce Arrian to mix reflections upon Christianity with a history of Alexander. As for my part, I own I am not able to give any satisfactory reason why there is a chasm; but I will do as much as lies in my power to supply the deficiency.-From Opis, upon the river Tigris, where the sedition happened, Alexander marched with his army to Charras, (see Diodorus, lib. xviii. p. 576,) where he encamped; then having passed through Sittacene, in four days he came to Sambana, where he rested seven. Then, in three days he arrived at Celanæ, which place Xerxes had peopled with a colony of Bœotians, who still retain some remains of their native language. Thence he proceeded to Bagisthames, a country fruitful and abounding in all things pleasant and profitable for life. About this time happened a grievous quarrel between Hephæstion and Eumenes, as Plutarch acquaints us, in Vita Eumenis; for Eumenes's servants having taken possession of an inn for their master's use, Hephæstion turned them out, to make room for Evius a musician; whereat Eumenes, enraged, went with Mentor to Alexander, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, that the only way to be regarded, was to throw away their arms, and turn fiddlers or tragedians. Alexander at first took their part, and chid Hephæstion; but soon after changed his mind, and was angry with Eumenes, accounting the freedom he had taken, rather as an affront to himself, than a reflection on Hephæstion. Some time after this, another dispute happened between them, concerning some present from Alexander, and a great deal of ill language passed between them; but the king, who was then present, laying his commands on them, they were reconciled, at least, outwardly; and Eumenes continued in favour till Hephæ-

CHAPTER XIII.

HEPHÆSTION dreading this discourse, was, much against his own will, reconciled to Eumenes. In this march Alexander is said to have viewed the field wherein the king's horses used to graze, which Herodotus calls Nisæum, and the horses Nisæans: he also adds, that in former times one hundred and fifty thousand were wont to feed there; but the king, at his coming there, found not above fifty thousand, for most

stion's death. As soon as Alexander had undertaken his expedition into India, Harpalus, who was made treasurer in Babylon (hoping he would never return), gave himself up to all manner of luxury and excess. He made a practice of ravishing women, and committing all sorts of uncleanness with the Barbarians, whereby he wasted the royal treasures. He ordered vast quantities of fish to be brought him as far off as the Red Sea; and was so prodigal in the expenses of his household, that all declared it was shameful, and none gave him a good character. He sent for a courtezan from Athens, named Pythonices, whom he maintained like a princess while she lived; and for whom, after her death, he erected a most magnificent monument at Athens. He then sent for another out of Attica, called Glycera, with whom he lived voluptuously and profusely. But, that he might secure to himself a place of refuge if any ill fortune should happen, he made it his chief business to oblige the Athenians. And therefore, when Alexander returned from his Indian expedition, and had put many of the governors of provinces to death for mal-administration, Harpalus, fearing the same punishment, took five thousand talents of silver, and raised six thousand mercenary soldiers, and leaving Asia, set sail for Attica. But perceiving none forward to come in to him, he left his soldiers at Tænarus, in Laconia; and taking part of the treasure with him, fled to Athens for protection. But Antipater and Olympias sending letters, which demanded that he should be delivered up, he withdrew from thence, and fled to his soldiers at Tænarus: thence be sailed to Crete, where he was murdered by Thymbron, whom he looked upon as his friend. Thus have I gathered what I could from Diodorus and Plutarch, to fill up this chasm; but the cause of the army's sudden march to Ecbatana, and Alexander's speech to Hephæstion on account of his quarrel with Eumenes, must remain unknown, till some perfect copy of Arrian happily discloses them to the world.

of the rest had been stolen away. Here Atropates governor of Media presented him with a hundred women, said to be Amazons,* attired like horsemen, only they bore axes instead of spears, and demi-lunar targets instead of shields. Some add, that their right breasts were less than their left, and that they were exposed to view in battle. Alexander separated them from his army, that they might not be liable to any insult, either from the Macedonians or Barbarians; but ordered that the queen should be told, that he would embrace her for the sake of having children by her. But as neither Ptolemy, nor Aristobulus,

*Curtius has given us a long story of those Amazonian viragoes, with their queen Thalestris at their head; and has been as circumstantial, as if he had been emasculated in his infancy, to qualify him for the post of one of her majesty's train-bearers. However, Strabo, lib. xi. p. 771, assures us it is a fable; for he says, "No author of credit mentions any such people; and even those who do, disagree prodigiously among themselves. For who," says he, "can be so stupid as to imagine, that either an army, or nation, or even a city, could consist wholly of women a and not only so, but that they should invade the territories of others, bring all the neighbouring countries under subjection, overtun Ionia, and pass over the sea into Attica? This is to invert the order of nature, and to affirm that women, at that time, were men, and men women." Plutarch, p. 29, has given us a list of the writers on each side of the question, and tells us, that " Alexander himself seems to confirm the opinion of those who reckon it a fiction; for in his Letters, wherein he gives an account of all passages, he says, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but takes no notice at all of this Amazon." But the same author comes with a closing argument at last, which knocks the whole story of her Amazonian majesty on the head; for he adds, that "many years after, when Onesicritus read this story (in his fourth book) to Lysimachus, who then reigned, the king fell a-laughing at it, and asked how such a thing could happen, and he know nothing of it though he was present."-As to Arrian, he neither concludes on one side nor the other, but leaves the case disputable. However, he tells us plainly, if ever there was such a people upon earth as a nation of Amazons, those who now came with Atropates were none of them, nor any thing more than women dressed in the same manner as the others are described by authors. See more of these Amazons in the Criticism prefixed to this work.

nor any other credible author, relates this story, I shall not endeavour to impose it upon my reader for truth; and the less, because I am of opinion that the race of Amazons was extinct long before that time; for Xenophon, who flourished some ages before, and mentions the Colchi, and the Phasii, and other Barbarians, through whose countries the Greeks marched to or from Trapezun (and where they must have fallen in amongst these Amazons, if any of their race had then existed), makes no mention of them. However, I am of opinion there must have been such a people, because they are celebrated by so many and such famous authors; for Hercules is said to have been sent against them, and to have brought the girdle of their queen Hippolyte into Greece. Athenians also, under the command of Theseus, repulsed these viragoes, when they attempted to invade Europe; and this battle of theirs against those Amazons is delineated by Cimon the Athenian, with the same art and accuracy as those with the Persians. Herodotus frequently takes notice of those women: and indeed, all the writers of the Athenian history have, in especial manner, celebrated that battle with the Amazons. However, if Atropates brought any equestrian viragoes to Alexander, they must certainly have sprung from some other race of Barbarian women, who rode on horseback, and were armed and habited in the same manner as the ancient Amazons.

CHAPTER XIV.

When Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, he offered sacrifice to the gods for good success, according to his custom; he also exhibited gymnic and musical sports, and made a royal entertainment for his friends. About this time Hephæstion was taken violently ill;

and it was on the seventh day of his sickness, when the boys exercised themselves at wrestling.* when the king received news of his declining state. he left off his sports, and hasted towards him with all speed; but before he could reach the place, he was dead. Sundry authors † have given an account of Alexander's grief upon this occasion, very different from each other; but in this they all agree, that he was seized with immoderate sorrow; but after what manner he testified it to the world, is a matter of great dispute among them: some giving their opinion one way, some another; according as they are inclined by passion or prejudice, either for Alexander or Hephæstion. They who have written the most indecent accounts, seem to have imagined, that whatever the king said or did, to show his excessive concern for the death of one whom he so dearly loved, ought to redound to his praise. Others are rather inclined to condemn such immoderate grief, as unbecoming any monarch, and much more Alexander. Some tell us, that he lay almost a whole day lament-

^{*} Plutarch assures us, p. 43, "that when the king had dispatched his most urgent affairs at Ecbatana, he began to divert himself with shows and public exercises; to carry on which, he had a supply of 3000 actors newly arrived out of Greece: but they were soon interrupted by Hephæstion's falling sick of a fever:" (Diodorus says "it was occasioned by a surfeit," which is not unlikely) "and being a young man, and a soldier, he would not confine himself to so exact a diet as was necessary; for while his physician Glaucias was gone to the theatre, he ate a boiled capon for his dinner, and drank a large draught of wine; upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days.

[†] Alexander, according to Plutarch, p. 43, was so beyond all reason transported with grief at this misfortune, that to express his sorrow, he presently ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. (Ælian informs us, "that he cast the walls of the castle of Ecbatana to the ground.) The poor physician he crucified; and forbade playing on the flute, or any other musical instrument, in the camp for a great while, till the oracle of Hammon enjoined him to honour Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a hero."

ing over the dead body of his friend, and refused to depart from him, till he was forced away by his friends. Others lengthen out the time of his lamenting over him to a whole day and night. Others again affirm, that he ordered Glaucias his physician to be crucified, because of a potion which he had indiscreetly administered to him: while others tell us. that when Glaucias saw that Hepliestion would not refrain from drinking an unreasonable quantity of wine, he refused to take any further care of him.---That Alexander should lie prostrate upon the dead body of so dear a friend, and tear his hair, and show other signs of grief, I neither deem improbable nor indecent, they being done after the example of Achilles, whom he imitated from his youth. Some authors tell us, that he caused the body of Hephæstion to be put into a chariot, and that he would be charioteer himself; but this is no ways credible. Others say, he caused the temple of Æsculapius, in Echatana, to be demolished: but that was a barbarous action, not at all suited to the character of Alexander, and, indeed, much rather resembling that of Xerxes, a known despiser and reviler of the gods, who is reported to have thrown fetters out of revenge into the Hellespont. However, what is related by some authors seems not improbable; namely, that when Alexander was upon his march towards Babylon, many ambassadors from the Græcian states met him, among whom were some from Epidaurus, whose requests when he had granted, he sent an offering to be hung up in the temple of Æsculapius, notwithstanding, as he said, that god had not showed himself at all favourable, in not saving the life of a friend whom he loved as his own spirit. Many assure us, that he ordered sacrifices to be offered to him, as to a hero: and some add, that he sent to Hammon's temple, to consult the oracle there, whether he should not sacrifice to him as a god; but Jupiter denied that liberty. However, all authors agree, that the king neither

tasted food nor changed his apparel for three whole days after Hephæstion's death; but lay all that while either lamenting or silently endeavouring to conceal his grief; and that he commanded sumptuous obsequies to be performed at Babylon, at the expense of ten thousand talents;* some say much more; and ordered a strict and public mourning to be observed throughout all the Barbarian countries. Many of Alexander's friends, that they might divert that excess of grief whereinto he was then fallen, are said to have devoted themselves and their armour to Hephæstion; and that Eumenes (whom we mentioned to have had a grudge against him a short while before) was the first proposer of it. This office, however, he performed to him when dead, lest the king should have entertained a suspicion that he had rejoiced at his death. Alexander gave strict orders that none should be appointed captain over the auxiliary horse in his place, lest his name should be forgotten in the cohort, but that it should always be named Hephæstion's cohort, and that the banner which he had chosen should be continued to be carried before them, as well in their several marches as in battle. He moreover exhibited gymnic and musical sports, much more sumptuous and magnificent than any of his former,

^{*} Justin says 12,000; lib. xii. cap. 12: and in that agrees with Diodorus. However Plutarch, who gives us the best account thereof, says, that "Alexander employed Stasicrates, rather than any other, to build and adorn this monument, because his designs were bold and magnificent; and that he intended to bestow 10,000 talents upon it, that the excellency of the workmanship might, if possible, go beyond the expense.—This Stasicrates was he who proposed to cut Mount Athos into the form of a statue of Alexander, which in his left hand should hold a city with ten thousand inhabitants, and from its right hand pour a river into the sea."-This project was never put in execution. It is not impossible but the mountain might have been cut into the figure of a man, and he might have built a city in one hand; but what. would be have done for the river? I hope there was one thereabouts before, or it would have puzzled both him and Alexander to have brought one thither by art.

as well for the multitude of the combatants as the greatness of the prizes contended for. Three thousand combatants are said to have been reserved for this solemnity, who shortly after performed their exercises at his tomb.

CHAPTER XV.

The mourning had now continued a long time; and the king was just beginning to receive some comfort, his friends having laboured much for that purpose, when he was induced to undertake an expedition against the Cossæans,* a warlike nation bordering upon the Uxians. Their country is mountainous, and their towns not fortified; for when they perceive their land invaded by a strong army, they immediately betake themselves to the tops of their mountains (either in a body or in separate parties, as it

* Plutarch, p. 43, tells us, that "Alexander seeking to alleviate his grief by war, set out, as it were, to go a man-hunting; for he fell upon the Cossæans, and put the whole nation to the sword, not sparing so much as the children."-I cannot imagine what could induce him to give us a story so inhumane, and at the same time so improbable. Strabo, in his eleventh book. p. 795, assures us, that "these Cossmans inhabited a country adjacent to Media, and that they were a wild and untractable people."-Perhaps Alexander knew that, and thought the surest way to tame them was to knock their brains out. "-That the Persian monarchs were wont to buy their peace of them, to keep them from infesting their territories with their usual depredations; for whenever they attempted to subdue them, the Cossæans, retiring to their mountains, easily baulked all their endeavours; so that the Persian kings were forced to pay an annual tribute, when they went to their summer palace at Ecbatana, for their safe passage back again to Babylon."-Diodorus tells us, lib. xvii. p. 577, that " Alexander conquered them in forty days; that he worsted them several times, and at last obliged them to deliver up their country and to redeem their captives. Whereupon he ordered strong forts to be built there, lest, when the army was withdrawn, so headstrong a nation should endeavour to throw off the yoke."—This trouble of building forts might have been spared, had the inhabitants been all killed before, for dead people are not usually so unruly.

happens), where no enemy can approach; and when the invaders of their country are retired, they return to their habitations, and take up their former trade of plundering and robbing their neighbours, by which means they support themselves. Alexander, however, not withstanding it was winter, drove them from their holds, and subdued them; for neither the rigour of the season nor the difficulties they met with could either discourage him or Ptolemy who commanded a part of his army; for they forced them from all their retreats, and found no place inaccessible, nor no country impassable, where true valour directed them. When Alexander returned thence to Babylon, ambassadors * from Libya met him, who congratulated him, and bestowed a crown upon him for the great victories he had gained in Asia. From Italy, the Brettii, Leucani, and Tyrrteni, sent ambassadors upon the same account, as the Carthaginians are said also to have done: ambassadors likewise came to him from the Æthiopians and European Scythians, as also from the Celtæ and Iberians, all requesting his friendship.; the name of which last people, and their manner of dress, were then first made known to the Greeks and Macedonians. Some ambassadors are said to have come to prevail upon him to decide the differences between them and their neighbours. And then it was that Alexander seemed, both to himself

[•] Justin acquaints us, lib. xii. cap. 13, "that not only the ambassadors from the Carthaginians and the rest of the cities of Africa, but also those from Spain, Sicily, Gaul, Sardinia, and some from Italy, waited his return to Babylon; for the terror of his name had so possessed the whole world, that all nations paid homage to him, us if he had been destined to rule over them; for which cause he hasted to Babylon, &c."—This last paragraph is contradicted by Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 578; for he assures us, with much more probability, that to give his soldiers some ease after his late expedition against the Cossmans, he marched a slow pace to Babylon. Arrian not only doubts of an embassy from the Romans, but tells us plainly, that the Arabians sent no ambassadors to him, for which reason he was resolved to wage war with them.

and those about him, to have the sovereignty as well of the earth as sea. Aristus and Asclepiades, two writers of Alexander's actions, tell us, that the Romans then sent ambassadors to him; and he, having given them audience, and made a nice observation of their habit, diligence, and generosity, and fully learnt the customs and manners of their nation, began, from that time, to foresee the future greatness of the Roman empire. But this last I give as neither certain nor altogether improbable; for no writer of the Roman affairs makes the least mention of any such embassy; neither do the two chief authors whom I most rely upon, namely, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, take any notice of it in their histories of Alexander's actions. And, indeed, it seems very improbable that the Roman republic. which was at that time free, should send an embassy to a foreign prince, at so vast a distance from their territories, especially when they could have no fears to urge them, nor any hopes of profit to induce them thereto; and when, it is well known, they bore a mortal hatred both to the name and office of kings, as the usurpers of the liberties of the people.

CHAPTER XVI.

ALEXANDER after this dispatched Heraclides the son of Argæus, with his ship-carpenters, into Hyrcania, to cut down wood from the mountains there, to build him a number of long ships; some open, and others with decks, according to the Græcian manner of building: for he had a strong inclination to have a full knowledge what communication that sea called the Hyrcanian had with any other; and whether it had an intercourse with the Euxine Sea, or with the Eastern Ocean beyond India, in the same manner as the Persian and Red Seas were found to be but gulfs belonging to the ocean. For the bounds of the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea were

not yet known, though many warlike nations bordered upon it, and many great and navigable rivers discharged their waters into it: for, from Bactria, the Oxus, the greatest river of Asia (those of India excepted) flows into it; and from Scythia, the Oxyartes: and many are of opinion that the Araxes, which passes through Armenia, discharges itself into These are great rivers, into which several lesser ones pour their waters; besides, there are many small streams which run directly into this sea: these are already known; but those on the other side, where the Nomada Scythians dwell, are altogether unknown. When Alexander had passed the river Tigris with his army, in his way to Babylon, he was met by the Chaldman soothsayers, t who, calling him apart from his friends, entreated him not to proceed on his journey to Babylon, telling him they were assured, from the oracle of Belus, that his entrance into the city, at that time, would be attended with ill consequences to him. He then answered them with a verse out of Euripides.

> Μάντις δ' ἄριστος οστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. He is the best diviner, who guesses rightest.

However, they replied, "At least, O king, do not turn thy face westward, nor enter the city that way

- * Neither Curties, nor any of his commentators, have taken the least notice of the contents of the former part of this chapter. The river which is here called Oxyartes, must needs be the Orzantes or Indian Tanais, which separates Scythia from Bactria; and this new name can be nothing more than an error of the transcribers.
- Hustin, kib. xii. cap. 13, acquaints us, "that it was one of the Magi or Chaldwan southsnyers who met him, and forewarned him not to enter the city, for it would be fatal to him." Plutarch, p. 44, tells us, that "Nearchus, who had sailed out of the ocean by the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to assure him, that he had mot some Chaldwan diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But the king slighted this advertisement, and went on; but coming migh the walls, he saw vast flocks of crows fighting with each other, some whereof fell down just by him."

with thy army, but fetch a compass round, and come in with thy face towards the east." This he was resolved to comply with; but the difficulty of the road.* which was both watery and marshy, forced him to change that resolution, either chance or destiny pushing him upon that way which was to prove fatal to him. But perhaps it was much more eligible for him to be taken off in the very height of his glory and happiness, while he was yet beloved and revered by his own soldiers, than to have survived his successes. and have afterwards experienced a different scene of And for this reason, in all probability, it was, that Solon warned Croesus to look towards the end of a long life, and pronounce none happy, before he was divested of mortality. The death of Hephæstion† seems to have contributed much to that of Alexander; for, in my opinion, he would rather have gone before him, than have borne the loss of him; in the same manner as Achilles had rather have died in the room of his friend Patroclus, than have been left behind to revenge his death upon his enemies.

CHAPTER XVII.

He ‡ had, moreover, a suspicion that the Chaldæans endeavoured to deter him from entering Babylon at

^{*}This is contrary to Justin, lib. xii. cap. 13, who tells us, that "laying aside his design of going to Babylon, he turned aside to Bursia, a city on the other side the Euphrates, which had been long uninhabited, where he was over-persuaded by Anaxarchus the philosopher to despise the predictions of those soothsayers, as false and uncertain, and proceed to Babylon."—But his authority will never over-balance that of Arrian; and besides, the conclusion of the very next chapter of this book confirms Arrian's account.

[†] Ælian informs us, "that when Alexander encircled the tomb of Achilles with a crown of gold, Hephæstion did the same to that of Patroclus, to signify that he was as dear to Alexander as Patroclus was to Achilles. Hist. Var. 12, 7.

[!] Not a syllable of the contents of this chapter is to be found in any other author of Alexander's History; for Arrian is more

that time, not so much by the advice of the oracle, as for their own private interest. For the temple of Belus is situate in the heart of that city, a most magnificent and stupendous fabric, built with brick, and cemented together with a bituminous substance instead of mortar. This, with all the rest of the Babylonian temples, was subverted by Xerxes, at his return from his Græcian expedition: whereupon Alexander determined to repair it, or, as some say, rebuild it upon the old foundations; for which reason he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish, for he designed to build it in a more august and stately manner than before. But whereas they had made a much less progress in the work than he expected during his absence, he had some thoughts of employing his whole army about it. Much land had been consecrated and set apart by the Assyrian monarchs for the god Belus, and much gold had been offered to him: from these the temple was formerly rebuilt, and sacrifices to the god provided. But while the temple lay in ruins, and the annual revenues belonging thereto were appropriated to no particular use, Alexander had given them to the Chaldmans; for which reason he began to suspect that they designed to hinder him from entering into Babylon, for fear that in a short time the temple should be built, and they stripped of such ample revenues. However, Aristobulus assures us that the king was willing to follow the advice of the Chaldwans, and take a journey round, to enter the city with his face towards the east; and accordingly on the first day encamped with his army not far from the Euphrates; but the day after, having the river on his right hand, and marching along the bank, for that purpose, he found the design impracticable, for the ground thereabouts was all an impassable morass; wherefore, partly by

full and particular, especially in relating material circumstances, than all the rest together.

his own will and partly against it, he disobeyed the oracle's advice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARISTOBULUS tells us a strange story, which happened to one of Alexander's friends, in this manner; When Apollodorus * the Amphipolitan (one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preside over the army which was left for the security of the province, Mazeus being then governor) met him at his return from India; and perceived how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother Pythagoras, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the entrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. asked him, in answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly; and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded A. lexander and Hephæstion, the augur first searched the entrails for Hephæstion; and when he saw the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother Apollodorus, then at Ecbatana, wherein he assured him he needed not stand in fear of Hephæstion, for he would shortly be taken off by death. And Aristobulus tells us, that Apollodorus received this letter the day before Hephæstion's decease. Then Pythagoras again con-

An account of this Apollodorus, and his being deputed to supply that office, is given by Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 16. Plutarch, p. 44, calls him governor of Babylon, and tells us, that "Alexander being privately informed that he had sacrificed to know what would become of him, sent for Pythagoras the soothsayer, who not denying the thing, the king asked him in what condition he found the victim; and when he told him the lobe of the liver was defective, A great presage indeed! says he. However, he offered Pythagoras no injury, but was much troubled that he had slighted Nearchus's advice." How much more exact and circumstantial has Arrian been in relating the particulars of this story.

enlting for Alexander, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting there too, wrote to the same purpose a second time to Apollodorus. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter; but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good-will towards him, and entreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. Alexander hereupon commended him for his fidelity; and when he entered into Babylon, he demanded of Pythagoras by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him; and being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective, he again inquired what that portended; to which the augur replied, Some great mischief. However, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more, for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. Aristobulus tells us. he received this story from Pythagoras's own mouth: who also, afterwards, inspected the entrails for Perdiccas and Antigonus, and gave the same responses: and the events happened accordingly; for Perdiccas was slain making war against Ptolemy, and Antigonus lost his life in a battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, at the river Ipsus. A strange story is also related concerning Calanus* the sage, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except Alexander; and when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at Babylon, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded, at that time,

^{*} Plutanch gives us a short sketch of this, at the conclusion of his account of Calanus, p. 42; for he tells us, " that before he ascended the pile, he embraced and took leave of all the Macedonians who steed by, desiring them to pass that day in mirth and good-followship with their king, whom in a short while, he said, he doubted not but to see again at Babylon."

by those who heard them; but the decease of Alexander afterwards at Babylon brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

WHEN Alexander was on his way to Babylon, he was met by several ambassadors from Greece; but on what particular account they were sent, is not certain; though, in my opinion, they might be dispatched by the Grecians to crown him with garlands, and congratulate him for the victories he had gained, as well over other nations as the Indians; and to manifest the public joy for his safe return out of India. But whatever their business was, it is most certain he received them kindly, and sent them home highly honoured: and whatever statues of famous men, or images of gods, or other things set apart for divine worship, Xerxes had carried away, and deposited, either at Babylon, or Pasargadæ, or Susa, or any other city of Asia, he delivered them to those ambassadors, to be transported back to Greece; by which means the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton came to be restored, as also the image of Diana of Cercæa. * He had, moreover, a navy of ships at Babylon, as Aristobulus tells us, which were partly brought from the Persian Sea, by the river Euphrates, and partly from Phœnicia. Those which arrived from Phœnicia t were two quinqueremes, three quadri-

^{*} Blankard informs us, that this ought to be Diana of Agræa.
† These were, without doubt, the ships which Curtius tells us, lib. x. cap. 1, 19, Alexander ordered to be built all septiremes; and this accurate narration of Arrian's plainly shows every tittle of Curtius's account concerning them to be false: For, first, they were to be built in some part of Phænicia, and then to be immediately taken to pieces, and be conveyed by carriages over land

remes, twelve triremes, and thirty galleys of thirty oars a-piece: these were taken to pieces in Phœnicia, and thence conveyed over land to Thapsacus, upon the river Euphrates; where being again joined, they were earried down the river to Babylon. The same author also tells us, that Alexander had ordered cypresstrees to be cut in that province, for building several other ships, they growing there in great plenty: but forasmuch as other naval stores were wanting, which these parts afforded not, he was supplied with them by the purple-fishers and other sea-faring men, belonging to Phœnicia and the coast thereabouts. He then dug a deep and capacious bason for a haven at Babylon, capable of containing a thousand sail of long galleys, and built houses for all manner of naval stores adjoining thereto. He also dispatched Miccalus of Clazomene, with five hundred talents, into Phœnicia and Syria, to hire or procure as many sailors as he could, because he designed to fix colonies all along the shores of the Persian Gulf and the neighbouring islands; for he was of opinion that that coast might in time become as rich and populous as the Phœnician coast. He made these extraordinary preparations for fitting out a fleet, on a pretence of making war against the Arabians, a populous nation, because they had neither sent ambassadors to him requesting his friendship, as all others thereabouts had done, nor made him any presents, nor paid him homage; but my opinion is, it was only his ungovernable ambition, which urged him to that attempt, which no acquisitions, howsoever extensive, were capable of satisfying.

to Thapsacus, and there only joined together again. And, secondly, they were so far from being all septiremes, that there was not one of that bulk among them.

CHAPTER XX.

Some * authors tell us, that he designed to invade the Arabians, because they worshipped only two gods. namely, Cælum and Bacchus; Cælum, or the firmament, because it was visible, and contained within its concave the stars, but especially the sun, which is of vast and universal benefit to mankind; and Bacchus. for the fame of his expedition into India. Wherefore Alexander deemed himself not unworthy to be worshipped by them as a third god, because his great actions were no ways inferior to those of Bacchus; and he resolved, after he had conquered the Arabians, to have restored them their ancient liberties, as he had done to the Indians. The fruitfulness of the country was no small temptation to its invader; for he had been informed that cassia grew there in the marshy grounds, and that myrrh and frankincense were gathered from the trees; that cinnamon was the produce of a shrub; and that their meadows, without any human art, brought forth plenty of spikenard. The extent of the country, according to his information, along the sea-coast, was not less than India, and that many islands lay not far off; as also, that there

^{*} This designed expedition of Alexander against the Arabians was prevented by his death. Neither Curtius, nor Diodorus, nor Justin, nor Plutarch, take any notice thereof; perhaps, because it was never put in execution. They are all in such a violent hurry to come to relate the circumstances of his death, that this of his life is quite neglected. And here I cannot forbear mentioning one error of Curtius, who insinuates, that all this mighty preparation of a fleet of septireme galleys, was to sail through the mouth of the river Euphrates, and thence against Carthage and the coasts of the Mediterranean.—The impossibility of this has been already shown, in my observations upon the first chapter of this book. However, Arrian here puts us out of all doubt concerning it, by assuring us that the fleet was fitted out for an expedition against the Arabians; and Strabo, in his sixteenth book, p. 1076, confirms it.

were sundry creeks and other places there, fit for the reception of a navy, and divers convenient places to build cities in, which in time might become rich and Two islands were particularly reported to lie in the sea, over-against the mouths of the Euphrates; one whereof was not above one hundred and twenty furlongs distant from the mouths of that river and the sea-shore. This was the lesser of the two, covered with thick woods, and had a temple therein dedicated to Diana: the inhabitants had their dwellings round the temple. The report goes. that harts, and goats, and other animals, strayed in the woods there unmolested, because it was deemed sacrilegious to take them, on any other account than to offer in sacrifice to the goddess. This island, as Aristobulus tells us, Alexander ordered to be called Icarus, * from one of that name in the Ægæan Sea, wherein Icarus the son of Dædalus is said to have fallen and have been drowned, when he disobeyed his father's orders, and attempted to fly into the upper regions of the air, with wings which were only cemented together with wax: but the event was, the sun melted the wax, and he fell into the sea, which was afterwards called by his name, as also a small island not far off. The other island is about one day and night's sail distant from the mouths of the Euphrates, and named Tylus: it is very large and spacious, and not mountainous nor woody, but produces plenty of several sorts of fruits, pleasant and agreeable to the taste. These accounts were delivered in to Alexander by Archias, who was dispatched in a ship with thirty oars, on purpose to discover the navigation of those seas; and when he had arrived at the island Tylus, durst proceed no further. However, Androsthenes being sent afterwards, with

^{*} This island is mentioned by Strabo in his sixteenth book, p. 1110, by the same name; but instead of a temple of Diana, he affirms that there is there a temple of Apollo.

another ship of the same sort, discovered a great part But Hieron of Soli far exof the Arabian coast. ceeded all who went before him upon the discovery of that shore; for he, with a galley of thirty oars, was commanded to sail round the whole Arabian Cherronese, until he arrived at the gulf bordering upon Ægypt and the city of Heroes. But neither durst be venture so far as he ought, though he sailed almost round the country of Arabia. For returning back, he informed the king, that the cherronese was of a vast extent, little less than that of India; and that the promontory, or utmost point of land thereof, stretched itself far out into the ocean. But this was little more than those who came from India with Nearchus had seen before, as they turned into the Persian Gulf, and were hardly held from attempting further discovery; Onesicritus, captain of the royal galley, having a strong desire to proceed that way. But Nearchus, the admiral, assures us, that he restrained them, because their orders extended no further than only to give a good account of the coast along the Persian Gulf. He was not sent out by Alexander to be at the sea, nor to find how far the ocean stretched itself, but to get knowledge of the country adjacent to the sea; to find out who were the inhabitants; what ports or creeks for shipping they had, and what plenty of fresh water; what were their customs and manners; what part of the country produced good, and what part bad fruits: and these orders he had observed for the safety of the army on board his fleet. And he assured them, that it was unlikely they should ever return safe, if they steered their course beyond the deserts of Arabia; and that very consideration is said to have deterred Hieron afterwards from proceeding further.

CHAPTER XXI.

In the mean time, while they were busied in preparing triremes, and digging the bason at Babylon, Alexander sailed down the Euphrates, to the canal called Pallacopas, * which is distant from Babylon about eight hundred furlongs. Now Pallacopas is no river arising from fountains, but a canal drawn from the Euphrates. For that river having its rise among the mountains of Armenia, during the whole winter season is easily confined in its own channel, its waters being then low, because the rains turn to snow; but in the spring, and especially about the summer solstice, the snows melt, and it swells to a prodigious height; and overflowing all its banks, waters the Assyrian fields on each side, and would certainly drown the whole country, unless it discharged a vast quantity of its waters through Pallacopas into the lakes and marshes, and thence along the confines of Arabia into a fenny country; whence, through sundry secret and subterraneous passages, it finds a way to the sea. When the snows are melted, and the stock of water thence arising exhausted, which usually happens about the setting of the Pleiades, the Euphrates begins to contract itself; yet, nevertheless, still the greatest part of the stream runs through the Pallacopas into the marshy countries, and thence into Unless therefore the mouth of this canal

^{*}The story of Alexander's voyage down the Pallacopas, which Freinshemius has inserted in his Supplement to Curtius, is abstracted from Arrian. However, Strabo has handled this matter thoroughly, in the sixteenth book of his Geography, p. 1075, 1076. But as his account thereof is too long to be inserted here, and differs so little from Arrian, I shall refer my readers to his book for satisfaction. Gronovius has wrote a small treatise concerning this huge canal, or drain, which he has annexed to his new edition of Arrian, wherein he gives us the opinions of all the ancients as well as moderns about it.

called Pallacopas were dammed up, and the stream of the river diverted into its proper channel, Euphrates would be so exhausted of its water, as not to afford enough to overflow the Assyrian fields on each side. Wherefore the governor of Babylon had, at a vast expense and with immense labour, obstructed that outlet of the river; which was the more difficult to perform, because the ground thereabouts was light and oozy, and afforded the water an easy passage through, insomuch that ten thousand men were employed three whole months before they could finish the work. Alexander coming to the knowledge of this, was resolved to do something for the benefit of the Assyrians; whereupon he determined to dam up that huge flux of water out of the Euphrates into Pallacopas, in a much more effectual manner than they had already done; and when he had gone about thirty furlongs from the mouth of the canal, he found the earth rocky, which if he proceeded to cut through, and continued it to the ancient channel of Pallacopas, the firmness of the earth would not only hinder the water from soaking through and wasting, but also its outlet at the time, of the overflow would be rendered much more easy and commodious. On this account Alexander sailed down the river Euphrates to the mouth of Pallacopas, and by that canal into the Arabian territories: where, finding a situation suited to his purpose, he bhilt a city, which he environed with a wall, and therein planted a colony of Greek mercenaries, either such as freely consented to settle there, or such as. by reason of age or infirmities, were rendered unserviceable in war.

CHAPTER XXII.

HE then, despising the advice of the Chaldmans, because no mischief had befallen him in that city, as their oracles predicted, (for he had continued in Ba-

bylon some time, and gone out again, and no accident happened,) being full of himself, resolved to run all hazards, and determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. And when some of his galleys, by reason of the ignorance of their commanders, had lost their way among the numerous windings of the river in those fenny places, he sent them skilful pilots to direct them, and bring the whole navy together. Many of the ancient monuments of the kings of Assyria are said to be placed among those marshes; and as Alexander * proceeded in his voyage, being governor of his own galley himself, a high wind chanced to rise, which forced the royal tiara and the fillet which encircled it off from his head. The tiara, as being the most ponderous, fell into the water, and was irrecoverably lost; but the fillet being carried away by the wind, was caught by a certain reed growing out of one of the royal monuments, on which account it was deemed an unlucky presage. A sailor then swam thither, and took the

Plutarch assures us, p. 45, that "when once Alexander gave way to superstition, his mind grew so disturbed, and he became so timorous, that if the least unusual thing happened, he would needs have it deemed a prodigy."—That will always be the case with any one who voluntarily resigns his own senses, and suffers himself to be led by the nose by those who are interested to abuse him.—" And his court was thronged with diviners and priests, whose business it was to sacrifice and foretell future accidents."-No doubt of it: where the carcase lies, thither will the ravens flock. They are the tools which courageous monarchs make use of to serve their purposes, and they make weak monarchs the fools to serve theirs. Diodorus tells us, lib. xvii. p. 582, "that as Alexander was returning to Babylon through the marshy places, (which the river Euphrates makes, by falling into Pallacopas,) a strange omen happened, for the boughs which hung over-head catching hold of the royal tiara, it fell off from the king's head into the water." And Gregoras, in his tenth book, adds, "that one of the sailors soon seized it by swimming; but being unable to hold it in his hand and swim at the same time, he placed it upon his own head, and thus carried it to the king, who rewarded him with a talent of silver, because he had saved the royal tiara, but cut off his head, because he had placed it therannon" it thereupon."

fillet off from the reed; and fearing the water might injure it if he kept it in his hand, he placed it upon his head, and brought it to the king. Many of the writers of Alexander's Life tell us, that he had a talent of silver bestowed upon him for his diligence, and was immediately afterwards put to death; the Chaldmans advising the king, that he who had so insolently encircled his temples with the roval diadem, ought not to escape with life. However Aristobulus, whom I much rather listen to, informs us, that he first received a talent for the bazard he had run, and was afterwards ordered to be whipped, for his inadvertency in placing the fillet upon his head; he also assures us, that he was a Phœnician. Some authors relate this story of Seleucus, and affirm that the prodigy signified Alexander's death, and Seleucus's advancement to a great part of the empire. He, indeed, of all those who succeeded Alexander, not only received the largest share of sovereignty, but had the most capacious soul, and was possessed of a greater part of the royal treasures than any of the rest.

CHAPTER XXIII.

When Alexander arrived at Babylon, he found Peucestas returned from Persia, with twenty thousand Persians, and a great number of Cossæans and Tapurians, two fierce and warlike nations bordering upon Persia. Philoxenus also arrived with an army out of Caria, Menander with another out of Lydia, and Menidas with some troops of horse. At this time came ambassadors from Greece, who approached him with crowns upon their heads, and presented him with crowns of gold, their design being to offer him divine worship. This happened not long before his decease. Then having extolled the Persians for paying an exact obedience to Peucestas, and Peucestas for his wise and mild administration of the Persian

affairs, he ranked them all among his Macedonian troops: but in such a manner, as that the decurio, or person who presided over every company, should be a Macedonian, as also the semidecurio, so called from the wages he received, being less than a decurio, but more than the common soldiers. Next were twelve Persians; and last of all a Macedonian decurio: so that every company contained four Macedonians, three of whom received more stipend than the rest, and the fourth presided over them. The Macedonians were armed with their own country weapons; the Persians, partly with arrows and partly with In the mean time, the king took much pleasure in seeing his fleet exercise their oars; and there was a great emulation between the trireme and quadrireme galleys in the river; and crowns were distributed among the victors, as well to the rowers as to the commanders. Then returned those whom he had dispatched to the oracle of Hammon * to inquire

^{*} Most of the authors of the History of Alexander agree in this, and have accordingly described it; but Lucian has done it more copiously and elegantly than all of them. "Whoever," says he, " denied divine honours and adoration to Hephæstion, was deemed guilty of a heinous crime by Alexander; for the king not only bestowed a magnificent interment upon him, but ordered that he should be worshipped as a god after his death, to show the excessive love he bore him whilst he was alive. And accordingly, many cities erected temples, dedicated shrines, reared altars, and appointed festivals to the new deity. To swear by Hephæstion's name, was the most obligatory oath which could be made; and either to hesitate in the worship, or perform it with a show of indifference, was a capital offence. This effeminate disposition, this madness, gave opportunity to sycophants to buzz all manner of mischief into the king's ear; for strange dreams were then dreamed; Hephæstion's ghost was seen, and his answers to certain questions were published every where. Lastly, altars and holydays were instituted to the familiar god, the avenger of injuries. With these the king was at first strangely delighted; but afterwards became so miserably infatuated, that he gave credit to them, and boasted, that he not only sprang from a race of gods, but that he could make gods himself."-I fancy the god which he here made was but short-lived; for after 'Alexander's death we hear no more of him.

what honours he might pay to Hephæstion; who assured him, Hammon's answer was, that he might sacrifice to him as to a hero. Which answer pleasing him, he offered sacrifices to him accordingly. He then wrote a letter to Cleomenes, a wicked man, who had done much mischief to Ægypt. As to his care for the preservation of the memory of his kindness and good-will to Hephæstion after his death, I cannot think it culpable; but some passages in the same letter scarce admit of an excuse: for, in the first place, (writing to Cleomenes) he commands him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, in Ægypt, and another in the island Pharus, wherein was a tower, famous both for height and workmanship, which also he ordered to be called after Hephæstion's name. He moreover commanded that all writings, concerning bargains among merchants, should be inscribed with his name. These things are only thus far amiss, because he made so much ado about things of small moment. But the contents of the last part of that letter admit of no apology: "If I," says he, "at my arrival in Ægypt, find that thou hast built these temples and altars to Hephæstion according to my orders, I will not only pardon all the crimes thou hast already committed, but shall hereafter pass by whatever crimes thou shalt commit." Such a license as this, to a cruel man, who had the command over many countries, from so great a king as Alexander, will by no means bear the least extenuation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

But now the time of Alexander's death drew nigh, whereof Aristobulus gives us this as a particular omen, That while he was distributing the forces which Peucestas had brought out of Persia, and Philoxenus and Menander from the sea-coast, among the Macedonian troops, as is already mentioned, he began to be

thirsty, and departing from his throne, left the seat empty: on each side of the throne were couches, with supporters of silver, for his friends, who then went to accompany the king. In the mean while a certain obscure fellow,* (some say a captive who had the privilege of going without fetters,) seeing the royal throne · and the couches on each side empty, passed through the middle of the eunuchs, and ascending the throne, placed himself thereon; the eunuchs then (nor daring to drag him down from thence, because the Persian laws forbade them,) began to tear their garments and beat their breasts and faces, as if some great mischief had been thereby foreboded. When Alexander heard the story, he ordered the man who had ascended his throne to be examined, to try if any had advised him to so rash an action; but he only answered, that he did it out of a certain levity of mind which then took him; whereupon the augurs judged the omen to be much more unlucky. A few days after this, when he offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new ones by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet until late at night. He is also

^{*} Prodigies now began to come thick, towards the close of Alexander's life, as Plutarch informs us, p. 44, " For a tame ass," he says, "fell upon one of the biggest and handsomest of the king's lions, and kicked him to death." "Alexander having undressed himself to be anointed to play at ball, as he was putting on his clothes again, the young men who played with him perceived a person clothed in the king's robes, with a diadem upon his head, sitting silently upon his throne; they asked him who he was? to which he gave no answer for a good while, until at last, with much ado coming to himself, he told them his name was Dionysius, that he was of Messina, and that for some crime whereof he was accosed, he was brought thither from the seaside, and had been kept long in prison: that Seraphis appeared to him, had freed him from his chains, conducted him to that place, commanded him to put on the royal robe and diadem, as also to sit where they found him, and say nothing. Alexander hereapon, by the direction of his soothsayers, put the fellow to death."-Some other writers have taken notice of this story, but their accounts are too trifling to deserve consideration.

said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bedchamber, but was met on his way by Medius, * one

* We have had strange work with this Medius among editors and commentators; the Delphini editions of Justin, lib. xii. cap. 14, call him Thessalus Medicus; and so does he, whoever he was, that wrote the first Supplement to Curtius; but it has been known to be an error a long time. He was a Thessalian by birth: And Strabo, lib. xi. p. 802, 803, tells us of Larissa. Arrian also, in his Indian History, cap. 18, calls him Medius the son of Orynthemis of Larissa. Plutarch acquaints us, p. 45, that he was a flatterer, with whom Alexander used to converse familiarly, and, towards the close of his life, to drink and play at dice. Justin informs us, lib. xii. cap. 14, "that as Alexander and his friends were returning from a banquet, Thessalus the physician, (or Medius a Thessalian, as has been already shown,) invited him and his companions to a new collation, where, taking the cup into his hands, he fetched a groan in the midst of his draught, as if he had been stabbed to the heart, and was carried half-dead out of the room, and continued for some time in so great torment, that he desired a sword to put an end to his misery."—Many authors say he was then drinking a health out of Hercules's bowl, which Athenæus tells us held two gallons. However, Plutarch, p. 45, has contradicted that story, and set the whole in a much fairer light. "The king," says he, "having given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his custom, just as he was retiring to rest, at Medius's request he went to supper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day, to such excess, that it threw him into a fever: which seized him, not, as some write, after he had drunk out of Hercules's bowl; nor was he taken with any sudden pain in his back, as if he had been struck with a lance; for these are the inventions of some authors, who thought it became them to make the conclusion of so great an action as tragical and moving as they could." Curtius has got happily out of this scrape. What he wrote about Alexander's decease is lost; and what his first commentator wrote by way of supplement is not worth remarking, because it is taken almost word for word out of Justin. However, I durst venture to hold a good wager, that Curtius, could the passage be recovered, made him die a death truly heroic; for, as he had magnified all the actions of his life, and swelled them to an excessive pitch, he would deem it below the dignity of the hero of his romance to die a common death.

of his friends, at that time in high favour, who entreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainment there would not displease him.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE Royal Diary * gives us an account, that he ate and drank with Medius, and then retired to rest; and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with Medius, and drank until late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he ate a little, and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards, he was carried in a chair to the temple. and there sacrificed after his usual manner; and this he repeated several days: and when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him, until the evening. In the mean while he issued out orders to the captains of his troops, to make ready for a march in four days time; and even nominated those who should travel on foot: but those that were to go on board the fleet with him. were to prepare themselves against the fifth day. After this, he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his galleys, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, after he had washed, he went to rest. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices: which done, he entered his chamber, and held discourse with Medius, having given orders to his offi-

^{*} Plutarch has given us this story out of the Royal Diary, though he differs in some particulars from Arrian. They have both, in all probability, abridged the account, which is the reason why sometimes the one and sometimes the other is the more copious. He tells us, "that Alexander's fever began the 18th of the month Desius, and that he died on the 28th of the same month, after ten days illness."—I am obliged, for want of room, to refer my readers to Plutarch, p. 45 and 46, for further satisfaction.

cers to attend him in the morning. He then supped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again washed and sacrificed, and ordered Nearchus and the rest of his captains to prepare for sailing the third day. The next day he washed and sacrificed as before, but his fever still continued; notwithstanding which, he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage; and having bathed, his fever increased towards the evening. The next day he was carried into a house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following, he was with great difficulty carried to sacrifice: however, he still continued to renew his orders; and notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates; and growing still worse, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made signs that he knew them; but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased, and all that night and the next day continued strong and violent.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AND now his soldiers expressed a great desire to see their king; some doubting whether he was alive,

^{* &}quot;The Macedonians," says Plutarch, p. 45, "supposing the king dead, came with great clamours to the gates; and threatened his friends so much, that they were forced to admit them, and

others plainly affirming he was dead, but that his death was concealed by his body-guards: and to such a height, at last, did their grief drive them, that many of them forced their way through the guards, and entered the royal apartment. But though the king perceived them, his speech had left him: however, with much difficulty he lifted up his head, and looking upon them, stretched forth his hand to each of them. The same Royal Diary also informs us, that Python,* Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas and Seleucus, tarried all night in the temple of Serapis; and having asked that god, whether it would not be better for Alexander to be brought into his temple, to be restored to health by him, were answered by the oracle, that he should not be brought,

let them all pass through, unarmed, along by his bed-side."-This, he tells us, was on the 27th day of the month Desius, when he had been speechless almost two days, and never spoke after.—However, Justin, lib. xii. cap. 19, gives us several fine speeches, which he was said to have spoken just before his death, viz. "That it was the fate of his family to die about the thirtieth year of their age. That though he knew not whether the Macedonians would find a successor like him, yet he could foresee, as plain as if it were before his eyes, how much blood Macedonia would shed at his death; and with what vast slaughter they would perform his obsequies."-I have neither room nor leisure to transcribe more. They have been all feigned by some rhetorician, for the same reason which Plutarch assigned in the last observation; for otherwise, he and Arrian, who are every where so exact, would never have omitted them. And another reason I have to believe them feigned is, because Alexander had been speechless two days before that time, and continued so till he died.

* Plutarch, p. 46, mentions none but Python and Seleucus, who were sent to inquire of Serapis whether they should remove Alexander to his temple.—The priest of Serapis, whoever he was, was a crafty knave, and framed his answer as he imagined would best suit his interest; for, had he ordered the king to have been brought, whether he had died by the way, or in the temple, or whatever accident had happened, the god would have been blamed; but as he ordered them to keep him where he was, if he had recovered, his recovery would have been attributed to Serapis; and as he died, even that was deemed the best for him, merely because the god, or rather his priest, had said so.

for it was best for him to continue where he was. This answer was brought back to Alexander by his friends; and in a short while after, as if the oracle had pronounced that the best, he died. Ptolemy and Aristobulus, in their accounts of these transactions, differ not much from the Royal Diary. However, some authors add, that being asked by his friends to whom be would bequeath his empire, he replied, To the strongest. Others affirm, that he told them, he foresaw with what vast slaughter and effusion of blood his kingdoms would perform his obsequies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

I MUST not here forget to take notice, that many other particulars have been related by authors concerning Alexander's death; as that he died of poison, sent him by Antipater, and made up by Aristotle, he fearing him, because he had already put Callisthenes to death: they add, that this poison was conveyed thither by Cassander the son of Antipater, in the hoof of a mule, and given to the king by Jollas, Cassander's younger brother. This Jollas* was one of the

* We have no account of Jollas's receiving a reproof in Plutarch; but he tells us of a hearty one which his brother Cassander received, p. 44; for "being newly arrived out of Greece, when he saw some of the Barbarians adore the king, he could not forbear laughing at it aloud; which so incensed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both his hands, and knocked his head against the wall."-Curtius gives us a strange story, which happened just before the king expired: "It is almost incredible," says he, lib. x. cap. 5, 3, " that the king, in that state, should, without any alteration of his countenance or his posture, receive the farewell of every particular person of the army; and no sooner was the ceremony over, but, as if he had then discharged the last debt of nature, he began to sink into the bed."— That the king should take such a solemn farewell of all his army, I think as incredible as he can do for his life; and should have thought the same, had he given me no caution at the beginning of his story. But perhaps the king was dead, and then it is nowonder at all that he neither changed countenance nor posture;

king's cup-bearers, and had received a reproof from him a little while before. Others add, that Medius, having a vast esteem for Jollas, was privy to the villany against his sovereign, for which reason he detained him thus drinking; and immediately after he had swallowed the fatal cup, he felt pain so acute and grievous, that he was forced to retire from the banquet. One author, in particular, has not blushed to add, that when he began to despair of recovery, he was willing to have been conveyed privily to the Euphrates, to have cast himself therein, that so, being snatched suddenly from human eyes, he might have given posterity the greater assurance, that, as he came from a race of gods, he was returned to the gods; but Roxane his wife, understanding his resolutions, hindered him: and when she began to bewail her state, and to shed tears, he told her, she envied him the glory of his divine origin. These stories I have thus recorded, rather that I might not seem to be ignorant that such reports were blazed abroad, than that I imagined them worthy the least credit.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ALEXANDER died in the hundred-and-fourteenth Olympiad,* as Aristobulus informs us, when Hegesias

and I should have concluded this conjecture to have been right, had not Curtius given us two or three short speeches of his afterwards.—But the whole is no more than a fiction, and has not so much as probability to support it; for which reason I shall say no more about it.

*Justin must certainly be mistaken, lib. xii. cap. 16, in making Alexander one month above thirty-three years of age at the time of his death; and much more is Clemens Alexandrinus, who says he reigned eighteen years; and Nicephorus, who extends his life to thirty-five or thirty-six years. He was born, according to the best and most accurate account, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad, on the 6th day of June, when Elpines was archon at Athens, 398 years after the building of Rome, and before Christ 356, and died May 22, according to Aristobulus;

was archon at Athens, after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned twelve years and eight months. His body was beautiful and well-proportioned; his mind brisk and active; his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo hardships, and willing to meet dangers; ever ambitious of glory, and a strict observer of religious duties. As to those pleasures which regarded the body, he showed himself indifferent; as to the desires of the mind, insatiable. In his counsels, he was sharp-sighted and cunning; and pierced deep into doubtful matters, by the force of his natural sagacity. In marshalling, arming, and governing an army, he was thoroughly skilled; and famous for exciting his soldiers with courage, and animating them with hopes of success, as also in dispelling their private fears, by his own example of magnanimity. He always entered upon desperate attempts with the utmost resolution and vigour, and was ever diligent in taking any advantage of his enemies' delay. and falling upon them unawares. He was a most strict observer of his treaties; notwithstanding which, he was never taken at a disadvantage, by any craft or perfidy of his enemies. He was sparing in his expenses for his own private pleasures, but in the distribution of his bounty to his friends, liberal and magnificent.

or May 24, according to Plutarch, in the first year of the 114th Olympiad, when Hegesias was archon at Athens, in the last year of Jaddus the high-priest of Jerusalem, 429 years after the building of Rome, when Lucius Furius Commillus and Junius Brutus Scæva were consuls, before Christ 323, when he had reigned over Asia nigh seven years, and over his hereditary kingdoms almost thirteen. However, as both ancient and modern authors differ a little upon this head, we shall refer our readers, for further satisfaction, to Sleidan Cont. lib. 32, Freinshemius's Notes upon Curtius, and the Chronological Table annexed to this work.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Ir any thing can be laid to Alexander's charge, * as committed in the heat and violence of wrath, or if he may be said to have imitated the Barbarian pride a little too much, and borne himself too haughtily, I cannot think them such vast crimes; and especially when one calmly considers his green years, and uninterrupted series of success, it will appear no great wonder if court sycophants, who always flatter princes to their detriment, sometimes led him away. this must be said in his behalf, that all antiquity has not produced an example of such sincere repentance. in a king, as he has showed us. For the greatest part of men, though they be never so conscious of their own crimes, imagine they can cover them from the knowledge of others by setting them up for virtues; but, in my opinion, the only means of mollifying a crime, is a free acknowledgment thereof, and the giving manifest signs of penitence: for whoever has received an injury, is willing to think himself less grieved, if the aggressor confesses his guilt; and he has some hopes that he will never suffer by him again, when he sees him so sincerely concerned for

^{*} That Alexander was guilty of divers gross crimes, which his unbounded avarice and unconquerable ambition burried him into, needs not be shown. Curtius's character of him has been considered already, in the last chapter of the Criticism prefixed to this work; for which reason I shall pass it by here. He has shown himself a romancer all along; and it would ill become him meanly to sneak after that truth, at the conclusion of his work, which he has used so scurvily and kept at such a vast distance all the while before. Arrian considers his character here, as an historian, in a political view. Seneca and Lucan, and Mr. Le Clerc in his Criticism, view his acts in a philosophical light, on which account all conquests will infallibly appear acts of injustice; and that is the reason of the wide difference which seems to be between the two cheracters; notwithsteading which, both of them, according to their author adifferent designs, may be just.

what is past. I cannot condemn Alexander for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine original, nor be induced to believe it any great crime; because it is very reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it, than merely to procure the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, who all of them challenged kindred with Jove: and none of the ancients condemned them for it; nor were his glorious actions any way inferior to those of Theseus or Ione, though the former claimed Neptune, and the latter Apollo, for his father. His assuming and wearing the Persian habit seems to have been done with a political view, that he might appear not altogether to despise the Barbarians, and that he might also have some curb to the arrogance and insolence of his Macedonians. And for this cause, I am of opinion, he placed the Persian Melophori among his Macedonian troops and squadrons of horse, and allowed them the same share of honour. Long banquets and deep drinking,* Aristobulus assures us, were none of his delights; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the wine, (which he did not greatly love, and seldom drank much of,) but to keep up a mutual amity among his friends.

^{*} Curtius here taxes Alexander with hard drinking, especially towards the close of his life. And Plutarch tells us, 'p. 2, " that it was the extraordinary heat of his constitution which probably occasioned not only that, but also the admirable scent which proceeded from his skin, insomuch that his very clothes were perfumed therewith."-This last, or something like it, has given rise to the fable which was spread abroad, about his corpse remaining untainted, and without the least mark of corruption, seven days after his death, in so hot a country as Mesopotamia. See Curt. 10, 10, 12. On the contrary, Lucian, in a dialogue between Philip and Alexander, tells us, that his body lay extended at full length, vastly swoln, and defiling every thing that touched it, beyond what could be imagined."-Besides, if we consider what Curtius has added before, of the heat of the climate, and the poison which, he says, was given him, it will make the story of his body remaining uncorrupted still the more improba-

CHAPTER XXX.

WHOEVER, therefore, attempts to condemn or calumniate Alexander, does not so much ground his accusation upon those acts of his which really deserve reproof, but gathers all his actions as into one huge mass, and forms his judgment thereupon: but let any man consider seriously who he was, what success he always had, and to what a pitch of glory he arrived; who, without controversy, reigned king of both continents, and whose name has spread through all parts of the habitable world; and he will easily conclude, that in comparison of his great and laudable acts, his vices and failings are few and trifling, and which, in so prodigious a run of prosperity, if they could be avoided, (considering his repentance and abhorrence of them afterwards,) may easily be overlooked, and are not of weight sufficient to cast a shade upon his reign. For I am persuaded, there was no nation, city, nor people then in being, whither his name did not reach; for which reason, whatever origin he might boast of or claim to himself, there seems to me to have been some divine hand presiding both over his birth and actions, insomuch that no mortal upon earth either excelled or equalled him; and this seems to have been signified by the presages at his death, the apparitions seen by sundry people in dreams, as well as waking; the honours, so near divine, which were decreed him) and lastly, the responses of oracles pronounced in honour of him to the Macedonian nation, so long after his decease. And though I take the freedom, in this History of his

ble. Mr. Le Clerc, in his Criticism prefixed to this work, thinks it was a story invented by sycophants after his decease; which is not unlikely; for perhaps the soundness of the body after death might be as evident a proof of a god among the ancient Greeks, as it is of a saint among the modern Romanists.

actions, sometimes to censure him; yet I cannot but own myself an admirer of them altogether. I have, however, fixed a mark of reproach upon some of them, as well for the sake of truth, as the public benefit; upon which account, by the assistance of Providence, I undertook this work.

END OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

ARRIAN'S

INDIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE countries which lie westward from the river Indus, as far as the river Cophenes, are inhabited by the Astaceni and the Assaceni, two Indian nations. Some authors write, that those Indians are inferior to the other beyond the river Indus, not only in the bulk of their bodies, but in courage; and that they are not altogether so swarthy. They were formerly subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes; but when the Median empire was translated to the Persians, they paid tribute to Cyrus the son of Cambyses. The Nysseans are not a nation of Indians,

* What Arrian hath written here concerning the Indian affairs, is a separate tract from his History of Alexander; and he seems to have contrived it so on purpose; because it would have been too tedious an episode to have been inserted into the body of his History. Besides, he has here interspersed long descriptions of countries, rivers, &c. which would have diverted his readers too much from the main story; for which reason he has judiciously thrown them here altogether; so that this is partly historical and partly geographical, almost after the manner of Strabo. And that none of my readers may doubt but that this is by the same hand, I shall once for all assure them, that Arrian has mentioned his design of writing such a treatise twice; the first time at the close of the sixth chapter of the fifth book; and again, at the conclusion of the sixteenth chapter of the sixth book of his History of Alexander's Expedition.

but derive their origin from those Greeks whom Bacchus formerly carried into India, when such of them as were worn out by age, or otherwise rendered unserviceable, were left there as a colony; perhaps he also invited such of the neighbouring inhabitants as would, to help to people his new-built city, which he named Nyssa, and the adjacent country Nyssæa; but the mountain upon whose skirts the city is built he called Meros, (or the thigh,) in allusion to his being concealed in Jupiter's thigh after the death of his mother Semele. These are the fictions of poets: and all the writers of fabulous history, as well Greeks as Barbarians, have delivered the same story. Among the Assaceni is Massaca,* a great city, the capital of that nation; another of their cities is Peucelas, † very large and populous, seated not far from the river Indus. They hold all the country on the west side of the Indus, as far as the river Cophenes.

CHAPTER II.

THE country eastward from the river Indus, is what I call properly India, and the inhabitants thereof-Indians. India ‡ is bounded on the north by Mount Taurus; which mountain retains the same name, even in that country: it rises on the sea-coast nigh Pam-

* This is mentioned as the capital city of the Assaceni, lib. iv. cap. 26, 27. It is there called Massaga. Strabo calls it Magosa, or rather, according to a late correction, Mosaga, lib. xv. p. 1022, edit. Casaub.

† The country whereof this city is the capital, is named Peucolaitis, by Strabo, p. 1022; and he tells us it was here that Alexander's bridge was made for the passage of his army over the Indus.

† This whole chapter and the next are to be found, almost word for word, towards the beginning of the fifteenth book of Strabo's Geography, p. 1010, &c., for which reason it is to no purpose to pretend to remark upon it. They both copied from one author, namely, from Eratosthenes; and therefore it is no great wonder they should agree in one story.

phylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and extends itself-in one continued ridge as far as the Oriental Ocean, running quite through all Asia. In some parts, nevertheless, it is called by other names; for in one country it is named Parapamisus; in another, Emodus; in a third, Emaus; and it is very probable it has many more, in the various territories through which it passes. The Macedonian soldiers who accompanied Alexander in his expedition, called it Caucasus: whereas Caucasus is a mountain of Scythia, widely distant from this; but their reason was, that they might boast that Alexander had passed over Mount Caucasus: The river Indus terminates India westward, as far as the ocean, into which it discharges its water by two vast mouths, not nigh each other, like the five mouths of the Ister, but rather like those of the Nile, which form the Ægyptian Delta. river also forms a Delta by its two mouths, no way inferior to that of Ægypt, which in the Indian language is called Pattala. Towards the south, this country is bounded by the ocean, which also shuts up the eastern parts thereof. The southern bounds thereof, with Pattala and the mouths of the river Indus, were thoroughly viewed by Alexander and his soldiers, as well Macedonians as Greeks. But the eastern limits, or those beyond the river Hyphasis, neither Alexander nor any of his followers ever saw. And few authors have given us an account what nations or people inhabit the countries as far as the river Ganges, where the mouths of that river lie, and where Palimbothra,* the chief city of the Indians upon the Ganges, is situate.

^{*} Strabo calls this city Palibothra, p. 1010; and says it is seated six thousand stadia from the mouth of the river Ganges, as they who have sailed up that river can testify.

CHAPTER III.

ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenæan, a grave author, who has written concerning the situation and circuit of India, seems to have excelled all the rest. He tells us, that India from Mount Taurus, whence the river Indus has its rise, to the mouths of that river and the ocean, is thirteen thousand stadia. Another side, namely from the same mountain to the eastern ocean. he reckons scarce equal to the former; but as a huge tract of land runs out four thousand stadia into the sea, it may be reckoned sixteen thousand stadia that way; and this he calls the breadth of India. length thereof, from the westernmost part to the city Palimbothra, he tells us he has measured along the road, called the king's road; and that it contains ten thousand stadia: how far it reaches further, is not well known. However, the common received opinion of the Indians is, that, with the promontory which stretches itself far out into the sea, it may contain ten thousand more: so that its whole length may be deemed twenty thousand stadia. Ctesias of Caidos affirms, that India is equal in bigness to all the rest of Asia; but he is mistaken: Onesicritus reckons it to contain a third part of Asia. Nearchus asserts, that the plain country belonging thereto, extends in length to four months journey. Megasthenes makes that side of India, from west to east, the breadth, which other authors call the length; and tells us, that where it is narrowest, it is sixteen thousand stadia broad; and from north to south, its least length is twenty-two thousand and three hundred stadia. There are as many rivers in India, as in all Asia besides; the chief of which are the Ganges and Indus, from whence the country receives its name; either of these are bigger than the Nile and the Ister, if they were both joined in one stream: nay, even the

Acesines, in my opinion, exceeds the Nile and Ister in bigness, when it has received the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis into its channel, just before it falls into the Indus, for there its breadth is thirty stadia. Many other rivers which perhaps may be larger than these, but unknown to us, may flow through this country.

CHAPTER IV.

NOTHING certain is related concerning this country beyond the river Hyphasis, for Alexander penetrated no further. Of the two great rivers of India, the Ganges and Indus, Megasthenes assures us that the first is by far the largest, and so do all those who make mention of it; for it arises great from its very fountains,* and receives many vast rivers, namely,

* Cartius's description of the river Ganges, lib. viii. cap. 9. 5, is the strangest, and at the same time the most different from other authors, that can be imagined. As for my part, I own I am not able to make sense of some part of it, for which reason I shall give my readers his own words, and leave each of them to interpret for themselves. Ganges ammis ab ortu eximius, ad meridianam regionem decurrit, et magnorum montium juga recto alpea stringit. Inde eum objectæ rupes inclinant ad orientem: utque Rubro Mari accipitur, findens ripas, multas arbores, cum magna soli parte exportes: paris quoque impeditus crebro reverberatur. Ubi mollius colum reperit stagnat, insulacque molitur. Acesines cum auget. Ganges decursurum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur : quippe Ganges asperum os influenti objicit, nec repercume aqua cedunt. What can he mean by this river's running over the tops of mountains in a direct course, and afterwards being checked in its career and turned from the south towards the east by a few paltry rocks? Sure the rocks were not higher than the mountains; if they were, it is no wonder it should be checked: if not, it might even run over the tops of them too, and never stop for the matter. I am not to he told, that some commentators have strained hard to make sense of this passage, and sell us, he meant no more by his montium juga stringers, than only the several cataracts of the river, or the declivities it falls from at different times. If he cannot speak sense, they can do it for him; but it is pity, when they gave him a meaning, but

Cainas, Erannoboas, Cossoanus, Sonus, Sittocatis, and Solomatis; all these are navigable; and besides these, Condochates, Sambus, Magones, Agoranis and Omalis. The Commenases, a vast river, and Cacuthis, and Andomatis, discharge their streams therein from Mandiadinæ, a country in India. The Amystis falls therein near the city Catadupa; the Oxymagis among the Pazalæ, and the Erinenses among the Mathæ, both Indian nations: Megasthenes reckons none of those rivers less than the Mæander, where it is navigable. The Ganges, even where it is narrowest, is one hundred stadia in breadth; and in many places where the current is slow, and the lands flat on each side, you can scarce see from shore to shore. These rivers discharge their waters into the Indus: the Hydraotes among the Cambistholi, which, receiving the Hyphasis among the Astrobi, the Saranges among the Mecei, and the Neudrus among the Attaceni, falls into the Acesines. The Hydaspes, receiving the river Sinarus among the Arispi, falls also into the river Acesines, in the country of the Oxydracæ. Tutapus, a great river, falls into the same; insomuch that the Acesines, vastly increased with all these, and still retaining its name, loses that and its waters at once, by falling into the Indus

they had made his words suitable to it. As they now stand, they neither mean that, nor, in reality, any thing else.—He then tells us, it falls into the Red Sea.—That is false;—Arrian calls it the Indian Ocean, and sometimes the Foreign Sea (in opposition perhaps to the Mediterranean); but none beside himself ever stretched the Red Sea to the mouth of the Ganges.—He then proceeds to acquaint us, that "it washes away many trees, with a great part of the soil."—If a great part of the soil was washed away in Curtius's time, I suppose it is all gone now; for undoubtedly the river has continued washing ever since, be the time as long as it will.—Then he informs us, that it receives the river Acesines into its channel.—That is false too; All authors agree, that the Acesines falls into the Indus; nay, even Curtius himself, lib. ix. cap. 4, 1, owns as much. But I am weary with remarking. My readers may take this for a taste of his geography, and see the whole paragraph, lib. viii. cap. 9, 5, edit. Freinshem.

among the Malli. The Cophs, having received the rivers Malamantus, Soastus, and Garæas, discharges its waters into the Indus, in the country of Peucelaitis. Beyond this, the rivers Ptarenus and Saparnus fall thereinto, at no great distance from each other. The Soamus also deriving his course from the mountainous parts of Sabissa, flows singly into it. as most of these, according to Megasthenes's testimony, are navigable rivers, it is no wonder that the Ister, or Nile, if their streams were joined, are no ways comparable to the Indus or Ganges. For we know of no particular river which runs into the Nile, but we are sure that many large canals are drawn from it through the country of Ægypt. As to the Ister, it rises from a small fountain, and though afterwards it receives many rivers into its bosom, yet neither their number nor bigness are by any means equal to those mighty Indian rivers which flow into the Indus and Ganges. Some of them are indeed navigable, but very few: of those, I have seen the Henus and Saus; the first falls into it in the confines of the Norici and Rhæti, and the last, among the Pæonæ, at a place called Taurunus. Some more navigable rivers besides these two, may perhaps fall into the Ister; but I am persuaded they are neither many nor considerable.

CHAPTER V.

WHOEVER will inquire into the reason of the multitude and vastness of the Indian rivers, is at full liberty to pursue that theme as far as he pleases. As for me, it is sufficient that I copy what I have received from others concerning them. Megasthenes gives us the names of many other rivers, which empty themselves into the southern and oriental ocean, without mixing their streams with the Indus or Ganges, to the number of fifty-eight, all navigable. But even Megasthenes himself seems to me not to have travelled over much of India, though a great deal more than any of Alexander's followers. He tells us, he was at the court of Sandracottus, a mighty king of India; and of Porus, another, much greater and more powerful than Sandracottus. He also assures us, that the Indians neither waged war with other nations, nor any other nation with them; and that Sesostris,* the Ægyptian monarch, having subdued a great part of Asia, and carried his victorious army almost to Europe, retired and went back, without attempting any thing against India. That Indathyrsis, a king of Scythia, making an eruption out of his own territories, over-ran almost all Asia, and conquered Ægypt, but declined making war against India. Semiramis, the valiant queen of Assyria, indeed, designed to have led a gallant army against them, but death prevented her. So that none but Alexander had undertaken an expedition against those countries. It is true, there is a tradition, that Bacchus conquered India, and that Hercules penetrated that far, which is still more uncertain. Concerning Bacchus's expedition, the city Nyssa and the mountain Meros are no slight monuments, and ivy growing there, and in no place in all India besides. The inhabitants also go forth to war, with drums beating and cymbals playing before them; and wear mottled garments, after the manner of the Bacchanals. But there are not many monuments of Hercules; for the story of the rock Aornus,†

This expedition of Sesostris king of Ægypt, as also that of Indathyrsis king of Scythia, and Semiramis queen of Assyria, with those of Hercules and Bacchus, are all mentioned by Strabo, towards the beginning of the fifteenth book of his Geography, p. 1006, 1007. He tells us also, that Megasthenes and some other authors gave credit to the stories of Bacchus' and Hercules's actions in India; but the far greatest number, among whom was Eratosthenes, deemed them no more than vain and incredible fictions.

[†] This rock Strabo calls Aornus, p. 1008, and agrees in the whole story, concerning it, with Arrian. Curtius gives us this

which Hercules could not win, and Alexander took by storm, seems to be little more than a fiction of the Macedonians to magnify their general; for they called Mount Parapamisus by the name of Caucasus, though it has no affinity therewith; and a certain cave,* which they found in the side thereof, they denominated the cave of Prometheus, the son of Titan, and affirmed that it was the same wherein he was bound, and punished, for his stealing fire from heaven. They saw an Indian nation called Sibæ,† whose usual clothing was the skins of beasts, who, for that reason, they said, were a colony left there by Hercules; and because they were armed with clubs, and marked their oxen with a club to distinguish them, they concluded that this was done in commemoration of the club of Hercules. If any imagine those stories deserve credit, he must conclude that this was not the Theban, nor the Tyrian, nor the Ægyptian Hercules, but some great king whose dominions lay not far distant from India.

for sound truth, and tells it with a grave face; but he seldom stumbles at a lie. I have already given an account thereof in my comment on Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 28.

*When the Macedonians, says Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1009, found a cave in the side of Mount Parapamisus, they immediately affirmed that to be the cave where Prometheus was chained; that Hercules came thither to set him at liberty; and that was the Mount Caucasus where the Greeks tell us he was bound. All which, says he, are no more than fictions of Alexander's sycophants, &c.

† The story of the Sibæ (whom Curtius calls Sobii, and Dionysius Sabæ, ver. 1141, Strabo has given us conformable to Arrian, p. 1008 and 1009. Curtius tells us, "they wore the skins of beasts for clothes, and clubs for weapons of war, and had many other customs still among them, which showed they owed their origin to the Greeks." See Curt. lib. ix. cap. 4, 2. This fable has been confuted already.

CHAPTER VI.

But to insist no more on these stories. Whatever accounts authors have pretended to give us of countries beyond the Hyphasis, they seem to me somewhat fabulous; but what Alexander's followers have written concerning those on this side that river, deserves a little more credit. Megasthenes tells us of a certain river of India named Silas,* which flows from a fountain of the same name, and communicates its name also to the country through which it passes, the water whereof has this property, that it bears nothing upon its surface, nor can any thing, how light soever, swim or float thereon, but all things sink down to the bottom: he also adds, that this water is much thinner, and more apt to rise in vapours, than any other. The same author assures us, that India is subject to vast rains during the summer season, especially those parts near the mountains Parapamisus, Emodus, and Himaus; and that many great and turbulent streams proceed from thence. The flat country is also often overflowed by rains in summer; insomuch that the river Acesines, † having at that season laid all the adjacent plains under water, Alexan-

† We have this same account from Strabo, p. 1014, only he fathers the story upon Nearchus, with much less probability; for Nearchus was commander of the forces on board; and if the overflowing of the river had incommoded them, they ought not to have steered their ships to the tops of the hills, to keep their bottoms dry, but rather into the middle of the channel, to keep

them from running a-ground.

^{*} Strabo, in his fifteenth book, p. 1029, has taken notice of this river for the same property; but he says, " Democritus did not give credit to it, though he travelled over a great part of Asia:" -I hope he did not go that far on purpose to prove it a lie-"neither did Aristotle allow the probability of it."-Neither do I; and whoever has the least notion of hydrostatics must be of the same opinion.

der's army were forced to decamp from its banks, and pitch their tents at a great distance. However, from this, we may give a guess at the like nature and properties in the Nile; it being very probable that vast rains fall in the mountainous country of Æthiopia in the summer season; and that the Nile, swelled and grown muddy with these rains, overflows its banks, and lays the flat country of Ægypt under water. An annual inundation may thus happen, though no snows were to fall in the hot country of Æthiopia, nor no Etesian winds to blow in the summer, and hinder the flux of his waters into the sea. That rains fall in Æthiopia as well as in India, I can see no reason to doubt, seeing in all other respects India so much resembles it. Its rivers, like the Æthiopian and Ægyptian Nile, breed crocodiles, and some of them all sorts of fish found in the Nile, except the river-horse; and, if Onesicritus may be believed, even that too. The natives of India * and Æthiopia are not much different in their features or complexion. The southern Indians, like the Æthiopians, have black faces and black hair, but are not so flat-nosed nor so curl-pated as the Æthiopians. The northern Indians bear a greater resemblance in form and feature to the Ægyptians.

CHAPTER VII.

THE † whole country of India is divided into one hundred and twenty-two several nations, according

^{*} All the remaining part of this chapter may be seen in Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1018, 1019. He has there endeavoured to assign a reason for the blackness of the Æthiopians, or rather to overthrow the reasons which others had given before his time; but as this is a point still undecided among the learned, we have no business to concern ourselves with it.

[†] This is an account of the ancient race of Indians, before the supposed arrival of Bacches in that country; for Megasthenes was one of those authors who believed that Bacchus (the son of

to Megasthenes. I own the Indians are very numerous, and they may have a vast number of separate governments among them; but how he came to be so very exact in his calculation, exceeds my understanding, seeing he could not travel over much of the country, because many of the separate states thereof maintain no commerce with each other. The Indians were anciently like the Scythians, a wandering race of mortals, who tilled no lands, and hated to be confined to any particular place; they neither built towns nor houses, nor temples for religious worship, but clothed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and ate the bark or rind of certain trees, called, in their language, tala, and there grows a tuft of something upon the tops of them, as upon palm-trees, resembling balls of cotton. They also fed upon the raw flesh of such beasts as they caught, before Bacchus entered their country. But when he had made a conquest thereof, he built them cities, gave them laws, and showed them the use of wine, as he had done the Greeks; he also brought them corn, and taught them agriculture; so that either Triptolemus, when he was dispatched by Ceres to plant corn throughout the earth, reached not thus far; or some one of the name of Bacchus arrived in India before him, and distributed corn among the inhabitants. Bacchus first taught them to yoke their oxen to the plough, and brought many of them from their former unsettled life to practise husbandry. He also taught them military discipline, and the worship of the gods, (not forgetting to put himself into the number,) which he ordered them to perform with drums and cymbals. He introduced the satyric dance among them, which the Greeks call Cardaca. They suffer their hair to grow in honour of Bacchus: they wear the mitre, and

Semele the Theban) conquered India, and built the city Nyssa, as has been already shown; though much better authors have proved it only a fable, invented by Alexander's followers, to give their master the honour of going beyond him.

use ointments; and even to the time of Alexander's entrance among them, they used drums and cymbals to excite their soldiers to battle.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHEN * Bacchus had fully settled his affairs there, and was about to leave the country, he appointed Spartembas, one of his friends, who was versed in the mysteries of government as well as religion, to rule over India. He dying, the kingdom devolved on his son Budyas. Spartembas is said to have reigned fifty-two years; but his son Budyas not above twenty, and then to have left his kingdom to his son Cradevas; and so, for many ages, the succession is said to have passed from father to son: and if at any time a father happened to die without children, they then chose one of approved valour, from among themselves, to be his successor. The Hercules who is reported to have penetrated so far, the Indians tell us, was a native of their country. He is particularly worshiped by the Suraseni, who have two great cities belonging to them, namely, Methoras and Clisoboras, and the navigable river Iobares passes through their territo-This Hercules, as Megasthenes asserts and the Indians themselves assure us, used the same habit with the Theban Hercules. He took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter, whom he named Pandæa, and caused the whole province wherein she was born, and over

^{*} This is an account of the Indian history and chronology, (I cannot nor dare not say) taken from their own annals; though Megasthenes, from whom Arrian copied it, undoubtedly thought so. My opinion is, that it was as mere an invention of some of Alexander's sycophants as any of the rest. Arrian has set a brand upon it; and Strabo has not any where taken notice of it. If either Bacchus or Hercules were Indian deities, I should be glad to be informed what names the Indians gave them; for that their present names are Greek, I hope none will question.

which she afterwards ruled, to receive its name from her. Her father Hercules is said to have put her in possession of five hundred elephants, besides an army of four thousand horse and about one hundred and thirty thousand foot. Other Indians tell this story of Hercules; namely, that when he had travelled through all the earth, and purged it of every vice, he found a pearl in the sea, such as the merchants at this day buy up in India at a great price, and bring to us; and such as the Greeks heretofore, and the better sort of Romans at this time, purchase at a vast ex-Hercules was so strangely taken with the lustre of this pearl, that he commanded such to be sought for throughout all the coasts of India, wherewith to adorn his daughter. Megasthenes writes, that the shell wherein this pearl is generated and enclosed is taken in nets, and that a vast number of other shells surround it, like a swarm of bees, because they have their king or queen as bees have; and if at any time their king happens to be taken by fishermen. they all suffer themselves to be taken with him; but if their king escapes, the rest are not easily enclosed. The Indians suffer the meat, or flesh, contained between these shells to putrify, but preserve the pearls for their use. Some of these pearls are so much esteemed by the Indians, as to be valued at three times their weight in gold, though gold is also the produce of their country.

CHAPTER IX.

In these realms, over which the daughter of Hercules ruled, the women are deemed marriageable at seven years of age; but the men, not until they arrive at the age of forty: and on this they have the following story; namely, that this daughter being born to Hercules when he was advanced in years, and imagined himself not far from his end; and he not able

to find a spouse worthy of such a wife, took her to wife himself, she being then seven years of age, that so by a race between them he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Hercules rendered her marriageable at these years for that purpose, and from that time annexed it as a peculiar privilege to the whole realm over which his daughter bore sway, that all their females should be marriageable at that age. My opinion of the story is, that if Hercules was capable of having an affair of this kind with his daughter, and was able to get children, he must not be so near his end as they would have us imagine; for if these stories of theirs, concerning the early maturity of their females, deserve any credit, they seem to bear some analogy with what is reported of their men; namely, that the longest-lived among them scarce exceed forty years of age. Now, the sooner death seizes them, the sooner they must grow old of course; and if they wax gray early, they must be in their prime proportionably: so that by this rule, men of thirty years of age may be said to be arrived to hoariness; and at twenty, to be past their strength; but at fifteen, or thereabouts, to be in their prime; and, according to this way of reasoning, their females might be marriageable in their seventh year; for the same author assures us, that all sorts of fruits come sooner to maturity, and die sooner, there than elsewhere. From Bacchus to Sandracottus, the Indians reckon one hundred fifty and three monarchs, who reigned during the space of six thousand and fortytwo years; in all which time they had only the liberty of being governed by their own laws twice; first, for about three hundred years, and after that, about one hundred and twenty. They reckon Bacchus to have -lived at least fifteen ages before Hercules, and that none besides ever entered their territories in an hostile manner, not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses. though he waged war against the Scythians, and performed many noble acts in other countries. However, they own that Alexander * invaded them, and conquered all wherever he came, and had certainly over-run their whole country, if his army had not refused to march further. As for the Indian kings, none of them ever lead an army out of India to attempt the conquest of any other country, lest they should be deemed guilty of injustice.

CHAPTER X.

The † Indians allow no monuments to be reared in honour of their deceased, esteeming their virtues sufficient to perpetuate their memory; for which reason they make odes, and sing songs in praise of them. Their cities are so numerous, as not to be easily reckoned. Those which are situate near the sea, or any river, are built with wood; for no buildings of brick would last long there, not only because of the violence of the rains, but also of the rivers, which overflowing their banks, cause an annual inundation over all the flat country. But the cities which are seated on any eminence, are frequently built with brick and mortar. The capital city of India is Pa-

† Strabo assures us, p. 1035, that they were no way extravagant in their manner of burying, and observed a vast moderation in their diet, apparel, and every thing besides.

^{*} Plutarch, p. 38, tells us, that Andracottus (who I take to be the Sandracottus mentioned by Arrian and Strabo) being then a youth, saw Alexander there, and has been often heard to say, that he missed but little of making himself master of those countries (viz. of the Præsians and Gandaritans); their king who then reigned, being generally hated for the viciousness of his life and the meanness of his extraction. Curtius makes Porus call him the son of a barber. However, I think, of all mankind Porus ought to have been the last who should have thrown the meanness of his extraction in his teeth; for if Freinshemius deceives us not, Porus's own father was of the same trade. See Freinshem. ad Curt. lib. ix. cap. 2. 6.

limbothra,* in the confines of the Prasii, nigh the confluence of the two great rivers Erannoboas and Ganges. Erannoboas is reckoned the third river throughout all India, and is inferior to none but the Indus and Ganges, into the last of which it discharges its waters. Megasthenes assures us, that the length of this city is eighty furlongs, the breadth fifteen; that it is surrounded with a ditch which takes up six acres of ground, and is thirty cubits deep; that the walls ar dorned with five hundred and seventy towers and sixty-four gates. All the Indians are free, they having no slaves among them; and in this they resemble the Lacedæmonians, among whom the Helots only are slaves, and perform servile offices; but the Indians are neither slaves themselves, nor suffer any others to be slaves in their country. They are chiefly distinguished into seven ranks or classes, † among themselves: one of which is their sophists, or wise men; these are much inferior to all the rest in numbers, but vastly superior to them in honour and dignity.

* What number of cities are said to be in India, I no where find in Strabo, only he reckons no fewer than three hundred in the dominions of Porus, so that we may guess the country was very populous. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1028, takes notice of Palimbothra (which he calls Palibothra) seated on the Ganges, and another river which he names not. He adds, " that its length is eighty stadia, its breadth fifteen, its form oblong. That it is environed with a wall of wood, in which are sundry holes to shoot through. They have also a ditch for the defence of the city, and the reception of all the filth issuing from thence; as also, that the nation among whom this city is seated, are called Prasii."-It is pity but Strabo had told what breadth the ditch was of; for as to Arrian's (ἐξάπλεθρον) six acres here, I do not understand them; and his wise commentators, whose principal care ought to have been to have corrected the errors of one manuscript by another, and set such passages in a true light, have not taken any notice of it.

† This distribution of the Indians into seven classes or orders, is mentioned by Strabo in his fifteenth book, p. 1029. He is very full and copious upon this subject, and adds, "that if any of the sophists continue to give true predictions, he is deemed free, and exempted from tribute all his life after.

CHAPTER XI.

THEY are never required to do any bodily labour; nor do they contribute any thing out of their gains towards the support of the public; nor indeed, to be brief, have they any manner of occasion to work at all; their only business being to offer sacrifices for the public welfare: and if any person sacrifices privately, some of these sophists is employed to show him the way and manner thereof, otherwise they imagine the gods would not accept his sacrifice. They are, moreover, the only diviners throughout all India; neither are any suffered to practise the art of divination, except themselves. They usually make their predictions concerning the seasons of the year; and if any public calamity approach, they are to foretell They never meddle with private affairs; either because they think that the art of divination extends not to inferior things, or, perhaps, because they deem it beneath their art to stoop to trifles. Whoever among them errs three times, by giving out false predictions, no corporal punishment is inflicted on him, only he is ever after doomed to silence. And none dares presume to consult any sophist on whom such a sentence has once passed. These sages go naked. In winter they bask in the sunshine; but during the summer, while the sun is hot, they retire to the meadows and marshy places, where they lie under the covert of trees; some of which are of such excessive bigness, that Nearchus assures us, one tree will overshadow at least five acres of ground,* and skreen an

^{*} These trees are described by many of the ancients, as well as our modern travellers and voyage-writers. Strabo, p. 1016, 1017, tells us, "that in the southernmost parts of India are certain huge trees, whose boughs having grown up to twelve cubits in height, bend down again so low as to touch the earth, and taking root, re-ascend into new branches, which taking root again,

army of ten thousand soldiers from the sun-beams. They feed on ripe fruits, and rinds of trees, at certain seasons of the year, which are both pleasant to the taste and afford good nourishment, as dates, figs, and many others. The second class of men among the Indians is their husbandmen, of whom they have great numbers. These neither bear arms, nor ever go out to war upon any emergency of state whatsoever; they only till the ground, and pay tribute to the king and some free cities. Moreover, if any intestine war happens to break forth among the Indians, it is deemed a heinous crime, either to seize the husbandmen, or to spoil their harvest. All the rest wage war against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural affairs, either in their fields or vineyards. The third class of Indians is their shepherds, whose employment is either to feed sheep or oxen: these neither dwell in cities nor villages, but live here and there upon the mountains, and pay an annul tribute out of their flocks; they also spend some of their time in catching birds, and hunting wild beasts.

CHAPTER XII.

THE fourth class of men among the Indians is their artificers and tradesmen; these pay a tribute out of their gains, except such as are employed to make weapons for war, for they are paid by the public: of this sort are all ship-carpenters and sailors, who sail upon their rivers. The fifth class among them is their soldiers: they are more numerous than any

like the former, proceed in the same manner, till one tree becomes a shelter from the sun-beams, and appears like a building supported with a multitude of columns."—Curtius describes them, lib. ix. cap. 1, 10. The same does Pliny and Theophrastus. I remember to have seen the figure of one of these trees in Rutgersius's small edition of Horace; and, if I mistake not, another in Leguat's Voyages. It is called by our modern travellers, the Indian fig-tree.

of the rest, except the husbandmen, and live free and jovial lives. They wholly bend their minds to military affairs. Others prepare them arms. provide them horses, and wait upon them in the camp. They have also those who tend upon their horses, clean their arms, govern their elephants, and drive their military chariots. During the time of war, they are obliged to serve their country in the camp; but in time of peace, they live merrily and pleasantly, and have as much stipend allowed them from the public, as is sufficient to maintain them and all their dependants. The sixth class is their supervisors or inquisitors: these inquire into all transactions as well in the cities as in the fields, and give an account thereof to their kings, if they live under a regal government, or to their chief magistrate, if in a free city. They may not be guilty of falsehood; and indeed none of the Indians were ever accused of that crime. The seventh and last rank among them, is composed of those who are appointed to consult about public affairs; and these are either ministers of state under some king, or have the administration of affairs of some free city chiefly devolved upon them. These are few in number; but in wisdom and justice they are said to excel the rest. Out of this class are chosen the magistrates of cities, and presidents of provinces, their legislators, generals of armies, commanders of fleets, and all the overseers of rural affairs. It is deemed unlawful for any of these ranks or orders of men to marry a wife out of his own class; for example, a husbandman may not marry the daughter of an artificer, and so of the rest. None among them are suffered to exercise two distinct trades, nor to leave off one and take up another; that is, he may not leave off husbandry and turn shepherd, nor leave off keeping sheep and become an artificer. Only a sophist is allowed to exercise what employment he pleases; but then their lives are not easy, but vastly laborious.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE Indians hunt all sorts of wild beasts in the same manner as the Greeks; only their hunting the elephant * is as much different from any of their other sports, as the beast itself is from others. The hunters first of all choose out a plain and open space, large enough wherein to draw up an army: this they surround with a ditch, five cubits in breadth and four in depth; the earth which they throw out of the ditch, they pile up on each bank thereof in form of a rampart, and it serves instead of a wall to defend them: then, on the outward bank of the ditch, they dig caves for themselves, instead of houses, leaving small holes in the sides, as well for the admission of light. as that through them they may see when the elephants approach, and enter the place which they have inclosed; and that they may entice them the sooner thither, they place three or four tame female elephaats within the inclosure: one passage is only left, by a bridge laid over the ditch, which they cover with green turf, lest their craft should be discovered by the wild beasts. The hunters, in the mean time, lie close in the little caves they have dug for themselves. The wild elephants stir not out of the forests by day-light; but as soon as night comes on, they wander out by droves in search for food, and follow the stoutest and most courageous among them, as their captain, in the same manner as cows or oxen are seen to follow a bull. When they come nigh the inclosed place, they hear the noise of the female elephants, and discerning them by the scent, immediately

[•] Strabo has given us a very exact description of the manner of hunting elephants, in the fifteenth book of his Geography, p. 1030, 1031; but he differs so little from Arrian, that I am of opinion he has abridged, and Arrian copied, from the same author: I shall therefore refer my readers to him for satisfaction.

fly towards them, and going round the banks of the ditch, arrive at the bridge, and enter the inclosure. The hunters no sooner see them entered, than they haste from their caverns or hiding-places, and some of them take away the bridge, others going to all the neighbouring villages, tell the inhabitants that the wild elephants are inclosed; whereupon the peasants immediately mount their best and tamest elephants. and haste thither: however, they do not venture to engage in fight against the wild ones, till they have been for some time pinched with hunger and thirst; but when they perceive them grown weak and languid, they again lay down the bridge, and enter the inclosure. At their first entrance, a sharp encounter usually happens between the tame and the wild elephants; but after a while, the wild ones, half dead with hunger and thirst before, are overcome. Then the governors of the tame ones alighting upon the ground, bind a rope round their legs, and order their tame ones to beat them till they be so weary as to lie down: then they bind a cord round their neck, and climb upon them as they lie on the ground. And that they may learn them to endure all sorts of usage afterwards, without offering to resist, they cut their necks round about with a sharp knife or dagger, and tie the rope fast into the wound, by which means the pain grows so excessive, that they can neither turn their heads towards one side nor the other. they still remain ungovernable, the cord is moved to and fro in the wound, and the pain vastly increased. Thus at last, owning themselves overpowered, they suffer themselves to be led whithersoever their masters with the tame ones please.

CHAPTER XIV.

Ir any happen to come into the inclosed ground, either too young, or otherwise unfit for service, they

are suffered to depart, and return to the woods unmolested: the rest, as soon as taken and overpowered, are led into the villages, and fed at first with grass and green corn; but if by reason of pain or excessive weariness they continue sullen, and refuse to eat, the Indians who attend them, cheer them up with songs, and encourage them with the sound of drums and cymbals. For if any beast * may be said to be intelligent, surely the elephant is: for some of them, when their governors have been killed in battle, have borne them away to burial upon their trunks, through the midst of their enemies. Others, † when their masters have been dismounted and thrown upon the ground, have defended them from their enemies: and some have endangered their own lives to save those of their governors. I have heard a story of one in particular, who, having in a rage slain his keeper, was afterwards so much grieved, that he pined away with hunger. I myself have seen an elephant beat upon a cymbal, whilst several others danced to his music: two cymbals were hung between his fore-legs, and one tied to his proboscis. or trunk; he then striking the cymbal which was

^{*} All this whole chapter we have almost word for word in Strabo, p. 1030, &c. except that particular paragraph of the elephant's beating upon two cymbals; and that we may venture to take upon Arrian's authority, he being an eye-witness thereof. The extraordinary docility of this animal all historians testify; and I doubt not but thousands, now in England, have seen an elephant perform things full as strange and surprising.

[†] It has undoubtedly been from some story like this, that Curtius has borrowed his concerning Porus's elephant. However, I should never have found fault with him as to that article, had he not made Porus slide off from him (after he had told us before he had alighted, and was rallying his foot), and the poor beast run at his enemies, and strive to rescue his master, after he had fainted and fallen down, ten or a dozen lines before. See Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 14, 40. Plutarch, p. 37 and 38, tells a story of this elephant still more incredible viz. that he kneeled down to prevent his master's falling off; and then with his proboscis, or trunk, gently drew every dart out of his body. Credat Judaus Apella, non ego.

tied to his trunk against the others between his fore-legs, alternately; the rest of the elephants moved round him as in a dance, and lifted up or bowed their bodies, as fitly and justly as the measure and reason of the sound seemed to require, or as he who played upon the instruments directed. female elephant couples with the male in the spring, in the same manner as the cow or mare, at which time certain veins near her temples are said to burst. She carries her young sixteen and smell strong. months, or at most eighteen, and brings forth one at a time, like a mare, which she suckles till it be seven or eight years old. Some elephants are said to live two hundred years,* though most of them are cut off by diseases before they come to that age; but if they die by mere old age, it is usually about these years. Cow's milk is used as a speedy remedy for the soreness of their eyes; and red wine taken inwardly is good for the rest of their distempers. The Indians cure their wounds with hog's flesh broiled, and rubbed upon the place.

CHAPTER XV.

THE natives of India esteem the tiger † a much fiercer beast than the elephant. Nearchus tells us, he saw the skin of one, but never the beast itself; but the inhabitants assured him that they were of

† Strabo tells us from Megasthenes, p. 1028, that the tigers in the country of the Pressians are twice as big as lions, and of such strength, that one of the tame ones, which was led by four men, caught a mule by the hind-leg, and drew it to him by force.

^{*} Most authors are full of stories concerning elephants; viz. Pliny, Philostratus, Plutarch, Ælian, &c. Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, p. 1031, asserts, that elephants commonly live to three hundred years of age, and some, though few, to four hundred; but that they are at their full strength about two hundred, and begin to breed about ten. However, I fancy Strabo himself did not think this account very probable; for he tells us a little before, that their lives are equal to the longest-lived men, and some of them are said to have reached to two hundred years of age, but then they fall into diseases which are incurable.

the size of a large full-grown horse, and of such strength and swiftness as to exceed all other wild beasts in both. When they attack the elephant; they leap furiously upon his head, and easily strangle him. Those which we saw, and call by the name of tigers, are no other than a kind of speckled wolves, only they are much larger than the ordinary sort. The same author tells us a story of the ants of that country, though he owns he never saw any of the Indian breed; however, he viewed several of their skins, which were brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp; and Megasthenes assures us, that what is commonly reported and written concerning those ants,* is undoubted truth, namely, that they dig gold out of the earth, not for the sake of the metal, but in preparing holes wherein to shelter themselves under ground; for they throw the earth up in the same manner as the small ants in our countries, only in much greater quantity; for these Indian ants are bigger than our foxes, and by making their burrows of a depth proportionable to their bulk, they throw up the earth wherein the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract pure gold. This story of the ants, Megasthenes only gives us upon the credit of others, and as I can advance nothing of certainty concerning them, I shall say no more

^{*} Strabo has been somewhat more particular in this story, though perhaps he believed as little of it as Arrian. He tells us, from Megasthenes, p. 1032, that "among the Derdæ, a great nation in India, is a hill of three furlongs in circuit, under which are gold-mines, which the ants dig: they are as big as our foxes, and live by prey. They throw up the earth in the winter season, like moles; and the gold mixed with the earth wants little refining. The Indians come with beasts of burthen, and take away this earth privately; for publicly they dare not, because of the ants, which not only fight desperately, but pursue those who fly, and slay both them and their beasts; to prevent which, they strew the flesh of wild beasts here and there, to divert the creatures from their pursuit, while they bear the prize away; and as the inhabitants thereabouts have not the art of refining it, they sell it to merchants as they find it.

about them. Nearchus tells us of parrots bred in India, as a great rarity there, and takes much pains to describe the several qualities of that bird, particularly his imitating men's words. But as I have seen many of those myself, and know them to be common enough, I shall forbear speaking of them as a rarity; neither shall I add any thing of the vast size of their apes * there, their exceeding beauty, or the manner of taking them: these are all too well known to bear a description; and nothing, except an account of their beauty, can be now worth relating. The same author assures us, that speckled snakes are found there of a wonderful size and swiftness. and that Python the son of Antigenes took one sixteen cubits long, though the natives told him they had many in their country much larger. The Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of these snakes; but the Indians cured those who happened to fall under that misfortune; for which reason, Nearchus tells us, Alexander having all the most skilful Indians about his person, caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp, that whoever was bit by one of these snakes, should forthwith repair to the royal pavilion for cure. These physicians also cure other diseases; but as they have a very temperate clime, the inhabitants are not subject to many. However, if any among them feel themselves much

^{*} Strabo, notwithstanding he is a grave author, gives us a very merry story about some apes upon the mountain Emodus, nigh the place where Alexander's soldiers were employed in cutting down wood for the navy. "In that wood," says he, p. 1023, " there is said to be such a number of huge apes, that when the Macedonians beheld multitudes of them, on some adjacent hills, drawn up as in order of battle (for that animal approaches pretty near to human knowledge as well as elephants), they imagined it to be a camp, and marched against them as against an enemy; but being undeceived by Taxiles, who was then with Alexander, and understanding the truth of the matter, that expedition was countermanded."—He gives us no manner of satisfaction concerning their arms, accoutrements, clothes, officers, or martial discipline; he tells it as a story, without naming his author; and I give it my readers as I have it, without pretending to vouch for the truth thereof.

indisposed, they apply themselves to their sophists, who by wonderful and even more than human means, cure whatever will admit of it.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Indians wear linen garments, the substance whereof they are made growing upon trees,* which I have already described; and this is indeed flax, or rather something much whiter and finer than flax, if the swarthiness of their bodies deceives us not, and makes us believe it whiter than it is. They wear shirts of the same, which reach down to the middle of their legs; and veils which cover their head and a great part of their shoulders. The richer sort of Indians wear ear-rings of ivory, but as for the common people they are not allowed to wear any. Near-chus informs us, that the Indians daub their beards † with several sorts of colours, insomuch that some of them appear white, others black, some red, some

* These trees are undoubtedly the tala, which he mentions chap. 7. Strabo agrees with him in his description of the dress of the Indians, as may be seen in his Geography, lib. xv. p. 1035. Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9, 21, tells us, "they cover their bodies with linen garments down to their ankles; they wear sandals upon their feet, turbans upon their heads, and ear-rings, adorned with precious stones, in their ears."—This is contradicted by Arrian, who is every where much more exact in particulars; for he assures us, that the richer sort wear only ear-rings of ivory, and as for the poorer, they wear no ear-rings at all.

† Curtius tells us they never shave, lib. viii. cap. 9, 22.—I wonder then how king Agrammes's father got his livelihood, for that same author, lib. ix. cap. 2, 6, assures us he was a barber.—If so, I suppose the poor man broke, and was forced to leave off his business; and his son turned monarch to keep himself from starving.—Solinus acquaints us, that they wear their hair very long, and daub it of a blue or sky-colour. Diodorus, lib. iv. 5, assures us, they nourish their beards during their whole lives, and that they received this custom from Bacchus, whom they called the bearded deity. Strabo, lib. xv, p. 1024, says, "they suffer their hair and beards to grow without cutting, and dye them of various colours by way of ornament."

purple, and others green. Those who are of any considerable account among them, have umbrellas carried over their heads in summer. Their shoes are made of white leather, curiously stitched together; and those who desire to appear tall, have their soles thick, and made up of several colours. Their soldiery are not all armed in the same manner: their foot forces usually carry a bow, of the same length with the bearer, which they lay on the ground, and place their left foot thereon to bend it, by which means they draw the string far back. Their arrows* are little less than three cubits long, and go with such a force, that no shield nor breastplate, nor any piece of armour is so firm as to withstand them. Upon their left arm they bear something resembling the pelta, made up of raw hides, a little narrower than their bodies, but very near as long. Some of them use darts instead of arrows. All wear swords of a vast breadth, though scarce exceeding three cubits in length. Those, when they engage in close fight, (which is very seldom, especially among one another,) they grasp with both their hands, that the blow may be the stronger. Their horsemen carry each two darts, short and narrow, like small spits; their pelta, or shields, are less than those of the foot soldiers. They have neither saddles nor bridles for their horses, like those the Gracians or Celtæ make use of; but instead of bridles, they bind a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of their

[&]quot;Their arrows," says Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9, 28, "are about two cubits long, which they often shoot to little purpose; for they are too heavy to fly far, or do much execution."—This is directly contrary to Arrian. Suidas tells us, the Arabians use arrows as long as they are tall, and bend not their bows with their hands, but their feet. And Strabo, lib. xv. assures us, "that their arms are a bow with arrows of three cubits long, a spear, a shield, or pelus, and a broad sword of three cubits in length. He adds, that they use a sort of halters instead of bridles for their horses, which are furnished with semething resembling our bitts."

horse's jaws, to the inner part of which the meaner sort fix spikes of brass or iron, not very sharp; but the richer ones have theirs of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is a piece of iron like a dart, to which the reins are fastened: when therefore they draw the reins, the bitt stops the horse, and the short spikes thereto fixed make him subservient to the rider's will.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Indians are most commonly tall, slender, wellproportioned, and much lighter and nimbler than most other nations. They ride chiefly on camels, horses, or asses, and only the richer sort are mounted on elephants. It is esteemed the highest honour among themto ride upon an elephant; the next, to be carried in a chariot drawn by four horses; the third, to be mounted on the back of a camel; but to be seen on horseback is so common, as rather to be deemed a disgrace. The women * among them, however chaste, and who will suffer themselves to be deflowered for no other gift, will easily condescend, when an elephant is promised as the purchase. Neither is it deemed a whit disgraceful for a woman to prostitute her body to any one for the sake of an elephant; on the contrary, the women think it an honour to have their beauty valued at so high a rate. They marry without either giving or receiving any portion; but as many of their young women as they deem marriageable, are brought forth by their parents into a public place, where he who wins the prize at wrestling, boxing, or running, or any other proposed exercise, chooses her for a wife who pleases him best. Many of the Indians employ themselves in husbandry, and eat bread, especially those who inhabit the plains. The moun-

^{*} This is confirmed by Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1032; for he tells us, "that the woman, who has received an elephant from her lover, accustoms him to the yoke, and teaches him to draw."

taineers live mostly upon the flesh which they get by hunting. These things I thought convenient to write, concerning the manners and customs of the Indians, wherein I have chiefly followed Nearchus and Megasthenes, two famous and well-approved authors; for as it was not my chief design exactly to describe their laws or institutes in this work, but rather how Alexander's fleet was conveyed thence into Persia, I shall, from this time, be silent upon that subject.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALEXANDER having now made ready a fleet on the banks of the river Hydaspes,* manned it with all the Phœnicians, Cyprians, and Ægyptians, which he

* Curtius, towards the conclusion of the third chapter of the ninth book, tells us, that this fleet was built upon the banks of the river Acesines, which is contrary to the best authors; and even Freinshemius can bring him off no otherwise, than by assuring us, that he ought to have brought Alexander back to the Hydaspes, instead of leaving him to sail down the Acesines. However, he has copied Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 563: and Justin, lib. xii. cap. 9, has fallen into the same error. And that it is an error, Strabo, in his fifteenth book, p. 1023, has put out of doubt, by nominating the very place upon the Hydaspes where this fleet was built: "There was a wood," says he, "nigh the mountain Emodus, from whence Alexander cut down much pine, and fir, and cedar, and sundry other sorts of timber, which he conveyed down the Hydaspes, wherewith he built a fleet, nigh the cities which he had reared on each side that river, where he vanquished Porus, and his horse Bucephalus died." And as a further confirmation thereof, he tells us, a little before, "that when Alexander had passed the Hydaspes, and overcome Porus, he hastened eastward to the river Hyphasis; but the oracles dissuading him from passing that river, and his soldiers being fatigued, he returned again to the Hydaspes, and that it rained all that while. However, when they had finished their navy there, they set sail down the stream, a little before the setting of the Pleiades."—Hence it is manifest, that Curtius has been misled: not only about the beginning of this voyage, but the place of Cænus's death; and that Arrian's account of the two new-built cities being damaged by the overflowings of the river is highly probable.

found in his camp, choosing the sailors and rowers out of such as he knew to be expert in sea-affairs. There were also in his army great numbers of islanders, well versed in these matters, as well as Ionians, and those bordering upon the Hellespont; he therefore constituted these captains of his ships.* viz. Hephæstion the son of Amyntor; Leonnatus the son of Eunus;† Lysimachus the son of Agathocles; Asclepiodorus the son of Timander; Archon the son of Clinias: Demonicus the son of Athenæus: Archias the son of Anaxidotus, Ophellas the son of Silenus; these were Pellæans: from Amphipolis, Nearchus the Cretan, the son of Androtimus, author of the account of the voyage; Lampedon the son of Larichus; Androsthenes the son of Callistratus: from Orestis, Craterus the son of Alexander; and Perdiccas the son of Orontes: from Eordæum, Ptolemy the son of Lagus; and Aristonus the son of Pisæus: from Pydna, Metron the son of Epicarmus; and Nicharchides the son of Simus; besides Attalus the son of Andromenes, the Stymphæan; and Peucestas the son of Alexander, the Miezean: Pithon the son of Crateas, the Alcomenean; Leonnatus the son of Antipater, the Ægæan; Pantauchus the son of Nicolaus the Alorite; and Mylleas the son

* If these were made captains of particular ships, it was little more than a badge of honour, for many of them went not on board. Hephæstion accompanied Alexander home by land. Leonnatus overcame the Oritæ. Craterus conveyed a part of the army into Carmania by land, and there met Alexander; and we read of Eumenes and Thoas, and some others, who never entered upon the voyage.

† This Leonnatus is mentioned by Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 5, as the son of Onasus; and, lib. vi. cap. 28, as the son of Anteus; and in this place as the son of Eunus. What is the cause of this difference, I cannot tell. However, I am persuaded it was still the same person, because he is called one of the king's bodyguards in each place; and though there was another Leonnatus, the son of Antipater, he never was honoured with that post. Blancard fancies it only to be a fault of transcribers, and that Anteus is the true reading; and I am of his opinion.

of Zoilus, the Berrean; these were Macedonians: Medius* the son of Orynthemis, of Larissa; Eumenes the son of Hieronymus, of Cardia; Critobalus the son of Plato, of Cous; Those the son of Menodorus; and Mæander the son of Mandrogenes, of Magnet sium; Andron the son of Cabeleus, of Teia; these were Greeks: Niccoles the son of Pasicrates, of Soli; and Nithadon the son of Pnytagoras, of Salamis; these were Cretans. One Persian was made captain of a trireme, Magoas the son of Pharauchis; Onesicritus, of Astyphalea, was governor of the royal galley; Evagoras the son of Eucleon, the Corinthian, secretary to the whole fleet. Nearchus the son of Androtimus, was admiral, or commander-inchief: this Nearchus was by birth a Cretan, but dwelt at Amphipolis, a city scated on the banks of the river Strymon. All things thus in readiness, Alexander offered sacrifices to the gods of his country, and to such others as the augurs directed him; as also to Neptune and Amphitrite, the Nereids and the Ocean, to the river Hydaspes, from whence he set sail to Acesines, into which the Hydaspes flows, and to the river Indus, into which they both discharge their waters. He also exhibited solemn exercises of music and wrestling, and distributed the flesh of the victims throughout all his army, according to their troops and squadrons.

CHAPTER XIX.

All things being then prepared for a voyage, he ordered Craterus † to march with some of his forces, as well horse as foot, on one bank of the river Hydaspes, whilst Hephæstion with the far greater part,

† This is related before by Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 2.

^{*} This is the Medius who was afterwards so great a favourite, and at whose house Alexander sat up drinking till he threw himself into a fever, which occasioned his death.

besides two hundred elephants, marched on the other bank over-against them. He himself led those called the targeteers, and all the archers and auxiliary horse, to the number of about eight thousand. He moreover commended Craterus and Hephantion to march before the fleet, and wait for its arrival at a place anpointed. He also dispatched Philip, whom he had made governor over that country, to the river Acesines, with some of the forces under his command. For he had now an army of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, reckoning those whom he hired from the maritime places. Soon after arrived those officers whom he had sent on board to raise recruits. and brought a vast number of Barbarians out of all the nations round them, armed with various sorts of weapons. He in the mean time sailing down the Hydaspes, proceeded to the place where that river falls into the Acesines. His fleet was composed of about eight hundred vessels of all sorts; some of which were long ships, or ships built on purpose for war, some ships of burthen for carrying provisions for the army, and others for carrying horses. But how this fleet passed down these rivers, how many nations they subdued in that passage, what danger Alexander exposed himself to among the Malli, and how he was wounded, and preserved from death there by Peucestas and Leonnatus, are particulars already fully related in the foregoing work, which I have written in the Attick dialect. It only remains, therefore, that I here give an account how Nearchus, after he had got clear of both the mouths of the river Indus, sailed through the ocean, as far as the Persian Gulf, which some call the Red Sea.

^{*} This is told by Arrian already, lib. vi. cap. iv.

CHAPTER XX.

NEARCHUS assures us, that Alexander had a vast ambition of sailing all through the sea from India to Persia, but was deterred by the length and danger of the voyage; and besides, he was afraid that his fleet, falling upon some desert shore, or putting into some dangerous creek, might be lost, and the army on board perish for want of provisions; which would be a vast blot upon his former actions, and serve to sully all the glory of his other exploits. However, after a while, the prodigious desire he entertained of attempting something surprisingly great and uncommon, overcame these scruples. His next doubt was, where to find one able and willing to execute this project, and to allay the fears of those who were to undertake this tedious voyage, and thought themselves neglected, and exposed to manifest and unnecessary danger. Nearchus tells us, that Alexander communicated his thoughts to him, and asked his advice, whom he should choose admiral of this expedition; and when several were proposed, and some refused the command for fear of miscarrying therein, some out of downright cowardice, and others out of a longing desire they had to return home; the king upbraided them one after another, with an account of the favours he had already bestowed upon them. At last, when none were found hardy enough for so dangerous a task, Nearchus promised to undertake it, and addressed himself to his sovereign in words to this purpose: "I, O king, will undertake the charge of the fleet; and (if God prosper my endeavours) will convey both the ships and soldiers on board safe into Persia, if the sea along these coasts be navigable, or if any human art or industry can accomplish it." Alexander at first seemed to deny his request, professing himself unwilling to expose any of his friends

to such vast toils and manifest hazards; but when he still continued his suit, and urged it strongly, Alexander began to commend his ready and cheerful resolution, and immediately constituted him admiral over the fleet. Whereupon the soldiers appointed for that expedition, as well as the sailors, were much encouraged, because they imagined that the king would never have sent Nearchus rashly and unadvisedly, into the face of danger. Besides, the magnificent preparations which were made, the costly ornaments which were laid out upon the navy, the complaisance of the captains towards the common sailors, and the vast stores laid in for the voyage, infused new life into them all, and raised those who before despaired of safety, to a fresh degree of hope. Besides, it was no small encouragement to them, that Alexander himself had sailed out of both the mouths of the river Indus, into the ocean; and not only offered sacrifices to Neptune, and the rest of the marine deities, for the safety of the voyage, but had also thrown several things of great value into the sea. The uninterrupted series of his good fortune contributed not a little to establish their opinion of this undertaking; because nothing which he had ever attempted hitherto, had failed of success.

CHAPTER XXI.

As soon therefore as the Etesian or anniversary winds ceased, (which, on these coasts, blow from the sea towards the land the whole summer, and thereby render navigation impracticable during that time,) they began their voyage on the 20th day of the month Boedromion, the 11th year of Alexander's reign, according to the Macedonian and Asiatic computation, when Cephisodorus was archon of Athens. Before they set sail, Nearchus offered sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, and exhibited gymnic entertainments; and on

the first day they sailed down the river Indus. to a certain large canal or river called Stura, about one hundred stadia distant from their first station, where they tarried two days. On the third day they again moved forwards, and came to another river, called Caumena, about thirty stadia distant from the former: there the water tasted brackish, like that of the ocean; for the tide flowing up beyond this place, mixes with the river water, which retains its taste, even after the tide is returned. Thence proceeding on their voyage twenty stadia further, they arrived at Coreatis, still in the river; whence they had not sailed far, before they beheld the mouth of the river, where was a dangerous rock; besides, the waves beat violently upon the shore, and the shore itself was rugged and unsafe. But having dug a canal of about five stadia in length, where the earth was easiest to remove; as soon as the tide began to rise, they got their whole fleet safe through that passage into the ocean. Having sailed thence about one hundred and fifty stadia, they came to a sandy island, called Crocala, where they tarried one day. The continent adjacent to this is inhabited by the Arabii, an Indian nation, whom I have already mentioned in the foregoing work, and given an account, that the country receives its name from the river Arabius, which flowing along the confines, divides their territories from the Oritæ. From Crocala they proceeded on their voyage, having the mountain Irus on their right hand, and a low flat island on their left, which, extending almost to the continent, makes a nar-Having gone through this, they came row passage. to a safe haven; which, because it was both large and commodious, Nearchus ordered to be named, the Port of Alexander. Opposite to the mouth of this haven, at the distance of two stadia, is an island, called Bibacta, though the adjacent country be named Sangada. This island is so seated, as of its own nature to form a haven. Here the winds grew very boisterous, and blew directly in upon the shore a long time

together, for which reason Nearchus landed his men; but fearing that some of the Barbarian nations should make a descent and attack their camp, he caused a wall of stone to be run round it, and tarried there four and twenty days; during which time, he tells us, his men caught fish, which they called sea-mice, and oysters of a strange and surprising bigness in comparison to shose in our seas; and that all the water thereabouts was brackish.

CHAPTER XXII.

When the wind was abated, they again put to sea; and having sailed about sixty stadia further, came to a sandy coast, before which was a certain desolate island, named Domas; which, by its situation, formed a haven; but as the water upon the coast was all brackish, they travelled about twenty stadia up a level country, where they found water sweet and pleasant; and sailing all the next day, in the evening they came to a country called Saranga, about three hundred stadia from their former station, where they went on shore, and found good water, about eight stadia from their landing-place. Thence they renewed their voyage, and arrived at Sacala, a country wholly uninhabited; whence they passed between two rocks, so near each other, that the blades of their oars touched them on both sides at once. When they had sailed three hundred stadia, they came to Morontobara, where is a large, spacious, safe, and commodious haven; but the entrance into it is narrow and rocky: this the natives called the women's haven, from a certain woman who first reigned in that place. Having passed the rocks with some difficulty, they came into the open sea again; and continuing their voyage, left a certain island on their left hand, which is so near joining to the main land, that the channel which separates them seems to have been cut through. That day they sailed about seventy stadia. The shore, all along the continent, was full of thick woods; and the island opposite thereto was also woody. break of day they departed thence, and passed through the above-mentioned channel, by the help of the tide; and after a course of one hundred and twenty stadia, arrived at the mouth of the river Arabius, where they found a large and safe harbour, but no fresh water, because the tide flows a great way up the river, and makes it brackish; wherefore, passing about forty stadia up the river, they came to a lake, the water of which being sweet, they took what they wanted, and returned. The island opposite to this haven is high land, and uncultivated; but round it are vast quantities of oysters, and all kinds of fish, which makes it be frequented by fishermen. Thus far the country of the Arabii * extends itself, being the last part of India that way, for the Oritæ inhabit the other side of the river.

* I shall here present my reader with a specimen of Arrian's extraordinary exactness in the geography of this coast. He tells us, towards the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter, that the whole length of the coast of the Arabitæ, from the mouth of the river Indus to the mouth of the river Arabius, was one thousand stadia: the particulars of which are to be made up by the several distances sailed, according to the journal in the two foregoing chapters, thus:

· ·	Stautu
From the rock at the mouth of the Indus to Crocala, is	150
Thence to Damas,	60
Thence to Saranga,	300
Montobara,	
An island not named,	70
Thence to the mouth of the river Arabius,	120
So that the several distances from the mouth of the river	

Blankard, in his Annotations, tells us, that the name of this river is Arbius, and the name of the people ought to be Arbii.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEAVING the mouth of the river Arabius, and sailing along the coast of the country of the Oritæ about two hundred furlongs, they arrived at the island Pagala, where they lay; for the place afforded good anchorage: and while the ships rode there, the sailors went ashore for water; and then departing as soon as it was light, the next morning they sailed four hundred and thirty stadia; and arriving at Cabana in the evening, designed to have drawn the fleet close into the shore, but because it was rocky and unsafe, they were forced to lie off at sea. Here a violent storm arising, bore hard upon the ships, which were exposed to the open sea, by which two long ships and one small bark were lost; but the men saved themselves by swimming, for it was not far from land. Leaving that place about midnight, after they had gained two hundred stadia they arrived at Cocala, where the sailors rested themselves upon the shore, while the ships rode at anchor Nearchus, considering that his men had in the sea. long endured the hardships and fatigues of the sea, was willing to give them a little refreshment upon the land; and lest they should be exposed to the insults of enemies, he ran a trench round the place of their encampment. Here Leonnatus, whom Alexander had dispatched against the Oritæ, overthrew them and their confederates in a great battle, six thousand of their soldiers being slain in the field, besides all their officers. Of Leonnatus's party, about fifteen horse and a few foot fell that day, besides Apollophanes* governor of Gadrosia. But these things

^{*} This Apollophanes was deputed governor of the Gadrosii and Oritæ, when Alexander entered their country in his journey from India towards Persia; Menon, their former governor, being dead. Arman has taken notice of it, lib. vi. cap. 22. However, he was soon after deposed for mal-administration, and Thoas was

are already related in the former History. Leonnatus had a crown of gold placed on his head by Alexander, among other Macedonian generals, on account of this victory. Here Alexander procured corn for the sustenance of his army. Nearchus and his men were ten days employed in bringing sufficient stores on board the fleet, and in refitting the ships which had been shattered by storms. Such of his men as were sluggish, and could not brook the fatigues of the sea, were sent to Leonnatus; instead of which, he received a supply of such of Leonnatus's soldiers as were unwilling to travel further by land.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THENCE, with a fair wind, they sailed about five hundred stadia, until they came to a certain river called Tomerus; at whose entrance into the ocean was a lake, nigh the shore. The inhabitants of these parts. who dwelt in small huts, no sooner beheld the fleet approaching towards them, but (as if surprised at the strangeness of the sight) they immediately gathered together upon the shore, as though they would have hindered the soldiers from landing. They had spears of six cubits long, but their points were not of iron, but wood sharpened, and hardened in the fire, so as to be able to do good execution; and their number As soon as Nearchus perwas about six hundred. ceived that they were drawn up in order of battle, he commanded his ships to move towards the shore, so

appointed his successor; who dying, Sibyrtius succeeded him; so that Apollophanes is only called governor of the Gadrosii here by way of distinction, to show that he was the same person who was once their governor. He seems to have taken this opportunity of assisting Leonnatus against the Oritæ, to regain the Iavour of Alexander. This is the best reason, in my opinion, that can be given for finding him here, after his being deposed, lib. vi. cap. 27; though Freinshemius, in his observations upon Curtius, lib. ix. 10, 10, is unwilling to allow it.

that their darts and arrows from on board might reach the enemy; for the thick spears of the Barbarians seemed to be contrived on purpose for close fight, but were not much to be feared at a small distance. Then, such of his soldiers as were expert in swimming, and light-armed, he ordered to swim on shore, and gave strict charge, that as soon as they touched the ground they should wait in the water for their companions, and not pretend to cast a dart before they had drawn up their whole body in three ranks, and that then they should make their attack with a great shout, and all the fury imaginable. The swimmers accordingly, upon a signal given, threw themselves into the sea, and presently reached the shore; then drawing up, according to their instructions, and raising a shout, they attacked the Barbarians with their utmost force; and at the same time those on board the fleet answering their shout, galled them with darts and other missive weapons from their engines. The Barbarians, surprised at the glaring of their armour, and the suddenness of the shock by sea as well as land, being themselves but indifferently armed, immediately fled. Many of them were slain in their flight, and many taken; the rest fled to the mountains. Those who were taken * were found tobe hairy all over their bodies, as well as their heads, and to have nails sharp and long, like the paws of wild beasts. Those nails served them instead of iron

^{*} Curtius gives a slight description of those people, by the name of the Indians upon the coast, every tittle whereof he has taken from Diodorus, lib. xviii. p. 572. "These Indians," says he, "inhabit a vast and desert country, and maintain no kind of commerce with their neighbour nations; so that the solitude of the place adds something to the savageness of their dispositions, who are otherwise rough and untractable enough by nature. They suffer their nails to grow without ever cutting them, and wear their hair shagged without combing. Their huts are built with shells; they are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and feed on small fish dried in the sun, and such large ones as the sea cust on their shore." See Curt. ix, 10, 9.

instruments; with them they killed their fish, with them they cut all sorts of soft wood, and made use of sharp stones for those which were harder; for they had no iron among them: and the skins of wild beasts, or those of the larger sort of fish, served them for clothing.

CHAPTER XXV.

HERE Nearchus ordered the ships to be drawn on shore, and those which were damaged to be repaired; and proceeding forwards again on their voyage the sixth day, they sailed six hundred stadia, and arrived at the utmost limits of the country of the Oritæ, which the inhabitants call Malana. The Oritæ who inhabit the inland parts are clothed in the same manner as the Indians, and use the same weapons; but their language and customs are different. The length of this whole voyage, from the mouth of the river Indus, along the coasts of the Arabii, is a thousand stadia; and the length of the coast of the Oritæ amounts to one thousand and six hundred stadia.* Nearchus

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1049, is undoubtedly in an error, though he took his mensuration of this coast from Nearchus's journal, as well as Arrian. But not only his, but Pliny's and Philostratus's geographical descriptions thereof, are trifling in comparison to this of Arrian. I have shown his extraordinary accuracy in the computation of the coast of the Arabitæ already, and shall now proceed in the same method, to delineate the coast of the Oritæ, by the several distances which he has laid down, thus:

	Stadia.
From the mouth of the river Arabius to Pagala, is	200
Thence to Cabana,	430
Cocala,	200
River Tomerus,	500
Malana,	30 0

So that the whole distance from the river Arabius to Malana, the last town upon the coast of the Oritz, is ...1690.

Arrian has rejected the odd thirty, and only given us the sixteen hundred, as a round number: this is very common, and is enough to prove Strabo's number of eighteen hundred to be erroneous.

assures us, that during his voyage along the coast of India, (for no part of India extends beyond the Oritm), the shadows fall not the same way* as in other parts; for when they sailed far into the ocean, towards the south, there the shadows, nigh noon-day, declined southward; and when the sun was upon the meridian, they had no shadows at all; the stars also, which were used to appear high above the horizon. either appeared not at all, or came but just in sight; and he observed many of them there to rise and set, which had always before been visible. These accounts of his are by no means improbable; for in Syene, a city of Ægypt, at the time of the summer solstice, is a certain well, where the sun at noon shines down to the bottom. In Meroe also, at the same season of the year, the inhabitants have no shadows. It is therefore highly reasonable, that those parts of India which lie furthest south, should have the same phænomena as those parts of Ægypt, especially along the Indian Ocean to the southward of the continent; --- but of these by the by.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AFTER the Oritæ, the first country which presents itself along the coast is that of the Gadrosii, which Alexander and his army found so much difficulty in marching through, and where they sustained more loss, and laboured under more inconveniencies, than in all their expedition besides; but of this I have treated already. Beyond the Gadrosii, dwell those people called the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters, whose coasts they passed along; and when they had sailed

^{*} This is certainly a curious observation, and (if we can suppose it to have been about midsummer when they sailed along the coast) a very just one, for he must have been near the tropic; and all this chapter is conformable to the observations of modern astronomers.

the first day about six hundred stadia, they arrived at Bagisara, where was a haven fit for the reception of a fleet, and a village named Pasira, about sixty stadia distant from the shore. The next day, departing sooner than ordinary, they sailed round a certain rock or promontory, high and rugged, and stretching out far into the sea; where, digging wells, they found water enough, but it was brackish; and that night the fleet lay at an anchor, for they durst not approach the shore, it being rocky. The day after, having gained two hundred stadia, they came to Colta; whence departing by day-light, after they had sailed six hundred stadia further, they arrived at Calama, a village nigh the shore, where they refreshed themselves, and where they found some dates and green figs. There was an island about a hundred stadia distant from the shore. called Carnine, where Nearchus received gifts and hospitable entertainment by the villagers; their presents were cattle and fish. The flesh of their cattle eats fishy, not much unlike to sea-fowl, for they feed altogether upon fish, there being no grass upon the island. The next day, passing two hundred stadia further, they put to shore, and found a village about' thirty stadia up the country, called Cysa, though the name of the coast be Carbis. Here they found certain small boats belonging to some poor fishermen. who fled as soon as they perceived the fleet approach towards them. But there was no corn there, and the army on board began now to be in want of that: however, they caught some goats, and having brought them on board, departed. Thence, sailing round a certain high rocky promontory, which reaches one hundred and fifty stadia out into the sea, they came to a safe haven, where dwelt many fishermen, and where was plenty of fresh water; the name of it was Mosarna.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HERE, Nearchus tells us, he took in a pilot, to direct them how to steer their course along these coasts, whose name was Hydraces, a Gadrosian; who promised him to conduct the fleet safe to Carmania. All this shore, from hence to the Gulf of Persia, is less difficult to be passed, though much more famous in story, than those he had passed already. The fleet? therefore moving from Mosarna by night, sailed seven hundred and fifty stadia, and arrived on the coast of Balomus; and thence four hundred more, to a village called Barna, where are many palm-trees, and gardens stored with myrtles and various sorts of flowers, whereof the inhabitants made garlands. Here they first found fruit-trees, and men somewhat less savage than any they had met with since the beginning of their voyage. Thence passing two hundred stadia, they came to Dendrobosa, where their fleet lay at anchor some time; but moving thence about midnight, they gained the haven of Cophanta, about four hundred stadia further. Here many fishermen resided, who made use of small slight boats, and rowed not with oars over the side, according to the Grecian manner, but with paddles, which they thrust into the water, as diggers do their spades into the earth. Here they found plenty of fresh water, exceeding good and pleasant. And departing from thence about the first watch of the night, they came to Cyiza, after they had sailed eight hundred stadia; and finding the coast rocky and barren, they cast their anchors, and refreshed themselves on board. Thence passing five hundred stadia further, they arrived at a small town seated upon a hill, not far from the shore. Nearchus imagining that the country thereabouts produced corn, told Archias, the son of Anaxidotus, the Pellean, that the town must be surprised and taken, for the townsmen would

not furnish them with corn unless they were forced; and to take it openly by assault they were not able, because it would endure a siege, and they wanted an immediate supply. He guessed that it produced corn, from the thick and tall stalks which he saw at a distance, not far from the shore. This advice receiving his approbation, he fitted out some of his ships upon this secret expedition, and gave the charge thereof to Archias, whilst himself sailed forward, with no more than one ship, to take a view of the place.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THEY approached the town in a friendly manner, and were kindly received by the inhabitants, who presented them with broiled tunny-fish, (for they were the last of the Ichthyophagi, and did not eat raw fish, like the rest of that nation,) besides dates and other ripe fruits. These Nearchus received; but told them he would willingly view their town, which they also agreed to: but when he had entered the gates, he left two archers to guard them, whilst himself with two more, besides an interpreter, mounting the wall on that side next the fleet, made a signal to Archias, as they had before agreed between themselves. Archias no sooner perceived the signal, than he immediately drew the fleet nigher, and the Macedonians leaped into the sea, to swim ashore; whereat the Barbarians being astonished, flew to their arms: but Nearchus caused proclamation to be made, by his interpreter, that if they would furnish the army on board with corn, their town should not suffer any damage. They denied, at first, that they had any; and pressed forwards to the walls, but were easily repulsed by Nearchus's archers, who galled them with darts from an advanced station. And when they perceived that the town was now in their enemies' hands, and in danger of being sacked, they addressed themselves to Nearchus

in an humble manner, beseaching him to accept of what corn they had for his use, but to spare the town. Nearchus ordered Archias to seize the gates, and take possession of the wall, while he dispatched others through the place, to see if they dealt faithfully with him, and showed them all the stores of corn they had. The townsmen accordingly showed them much meal made of fish dried and ground to powder, but little of wheat or barley; for they made use of that powder of dried fish for bread, and of wheat-bread for meat. When they had showed them all their stock, they took what they had occasion for, and departed thence to a rock or island called Bagia, which the inhabitants look upon as sacred to the sun.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THENCE sailing about midnight, they proceeded a thousand stadia further, to Talmena, a haven safe and commodious; and thence sailing four hundred furlongs, they arrived at Canasis, a city in ruins, where they found a well ready dug, and some palm-trees over-shadowing it, the tenderest parts of the tops whereof they shred small, and ate, for they now began to be in great want of bread. They therefore hoisted their sails again, and sailed all that night and the next day along a barren coast, and then cast anchor; Nearchus being afraid to suffer them to land, for fear they should take that opportunity of leaving their ships, because they began to despair of safety by sea. Thence departing, they proceeded to Canates, about seven hundred and fifty stadia distant; and sailing thence, because it was a flat shore, and every where separated by small ditches or rills of water, they came to Træsi, a country about eight hundred stadia further: there were some small and poor villages nigh the coast, but the inhabitants fled. However, they found a little corn and palm-fruits, and seized upon

seven camels which were left behind; these they immediately killed, and ate their flesh. Thence continuing their voyage, about day-light they advanced to Dagasira, three hundred stadia further, which place a certain wandering colony then possessed; whence departing, they sailed that whole night and the next day, without casting anchor or taking any rest on shore; and having proceeded thus one thousand one hundred stadia, they passed the utmost limits of the country of the Ichthyophagi, being still reduced to great straits for want of provisions; besides, they durst not venture to put their ships to the shore, because it was rocky, for which reason they were forced to cast anchor in the open sea. The whole length of the coast of this country of the Ichthyophagi, as they computed it by this voyage, is ten thousand stadia.* The inhabi-

* Strabo, in his fifteenth book, p. 1049, tells us, that the length of the coast of the Ichthyophagi is no more than seven thousand and four hundred stadia. But that the number is too small will easily appear, by computing the several distances which they sailed, from the beginning of chap. xxvi. to this place; and to save my reader the trouble of collecting them, I shall here present him with them, in one view, as I have already done with the two former. I must not, however, forget to acquaint him, that, either by the fault of the transcribers, or some other unknown accident, between Canasis and Canates there is a day and night's distance omitted: The whole stands thus:

	Stadia.
From Malana, the last town upon the coast of the Orita	æ,
to Bagasira, is	600
Thence to Colta,	200
Calama,	600
Cysa,	
Thence round the promontory to Mosarna,	
Balomus,	750
Burna,	400
Dendrobosa,	200
Cophanta,	
Cyiza,	800
A town not named, which they took,	
Talmena,	
Canasis,	

tants received that appellation from their living upon Some of them are professed fishermen, though few have boats for that purpose, or understand much how to catch fish artfully; for they get the greatest quantity of theirs when the tide leaves the shore. Some of them indeed make nets of two stadia in length, and make use of the inner rind of palm-trees, which they twist together as we do hemp: but when the tide falls away, and the sea leaves their shores, they find vast plenty of fish in the small gullets, or hollow places, where the shore is not quite flat, which they catch in nets, and keep for their use. Some of these are small, and others larger; the small ones they take out of their nets, and immediately eat them raw; the larger and tougher sort they lay in the sun to roast, and afterwards rub them to powder, and make bread thereof; and some mix this powder and the flour of wheat together. Their cattle have much the same diet as their masters; for that country is wholly barren, and yields no sort of grass. Vast store of crabs and oysters, and all sorts of shell-fish, are found on these coasts; and the country naturally produces olive-trees,* from whence they extract oil.

	Stadia.
Brought over	6450
Here one day and night's distance is omitted,	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Canates,	750
Træsi,	
Dagasira,	300
Thence to the last limits of the coast,	1100

These several sums amount toStadia 9400

To which, if I may be allowed to add 600 stadia for the day and night's sailing omitted in the Journal, between Canasis and Canates, it will amount to 10,000 stadia, which is enough to prove the truth of this; and that Strabo's number of 7400 must be false.

* All the printed editions of Arrian, that I have seen, have also in this place, which both Vulcanius and Facius have rendered sal; and no commentator, that I know of, has ever touched upon it, to show us what they thought of it. As for my part, I believe the ancients were no such extraordinary chemists, as to be able to extract oil out of sea-water, or any kind of salt what-

But those who inhabit the most desolate parts, which produce neither trees nor fruits, live wholly upon fish. Few sow any corn, and even those who do, eat the bread instead of meat, and fish instead of bread. They build their houses in this manner: the richer sort among them gather up the bones of whales, or such other large fish as they find cast up upon the shore, and use the smaller bones for rafters, and those of a larger size for door-posts; but the people of inferior rank build with the ribs and back-bones of other fish.

CHAPTER XXX.

Whales* of a vast bulk are often seen in these foreign seas; and many other sorts of fish are bred there, much larger than any in ours. Nearchus tells

ever; for which reason, (supposing the author to have wrote sense originally, and we seldom find him transgress in that particular,) we must seek out another word to substitute instead of $\tilde{a} \lambda \epsilon_{5}$, and what is so near akin to it as $\tilde{\epsilon} \lambda \alpha |a_{5}|^{2}$ and this I am satisfied it was originally; for from whence should the inhabitants have oil,

but from olive-trees?

* Strabo has given us an extraordinary account of this, in his fifteenth book, p. 1055. "When Nearchus," says he, "arrived within the Arabian Gulf (the same which is now called the Persian Gulf), he suffered many hardships, not only by reason of their want of knowledge of the coast, but also from the huge whales they saw there; and though it is not unlikely that sailors may sometimes take the privilege of telling strange stories instead of true ones; yet all agree they were wonderfully scated. The vastness of those whales terrified them exceedingly; for they spouted forth such prodigious streams of water, and thereby caused so great a darkness, that they were scarce able to discern each other. However, their pilots assured them that these were only huge fish, which might easily be scared away by loud shouts and sounding of trumpets. Whereupon Nearchus steered his ships directly to the place where he saw the waters forced upwards with the greatest fury, and sounded his trumpets, upon which the whales sunk down, and disappeared."-He then proceeds to acquaint us, "that as many as sail now into India give some account of the bigness of the whales, but assure us they neither appear often, nor in great numbers together."

us, that in their voyage near Cyiza, he saw the water one morning forced upwards in a violent manner, and rising aloft from the sea, as if hoisted up by a whirlwind; and when the mariners were surprised at the strangeness of the sight, and inquired of the pilots what could be the cause thereof; they were answered, that fish sporting in the sea, spouted forth the waters to that vast height: whereupon they were seized with so much fear, that they suffered the oars to fall out of their hands. However, the admiral encouraged them, and ordered them, whenever they perceived any of those monstrous fish approach, to direct the beaks of their ships exactly towards them, as if they were to engage an enemy in a sea-fight, as also to row stoutly, and to make as great a noise as they could, as well with their voices as their oars. The mariners thus instructed, recovered from their fright, and, upon a signal given, plied their oars manfully; and when they came near the fish, not only shouted as loud as possible, but sounded their trumpets, and beat the sea vehemently with their oars; whereupon the whales, who were now just under the beaks of their ships, terrified with the strangeness of the sound, sunk down to the bottom of the deep, and rising again at some distance, began to spout forth the water as before. Then the sailors rejoiced exceedingly at their unexpected deliverance, and with one voice applauded the wisdom and courage of their admiral. Some of those whales are left ashore, on several parts of that coast (when the tide falls away), and entangled in the shallows; others are thrown ashore by the violence of storms,* and when

^{*} Strabo says, p. 1056, "that these whales are not thrown ashore alive, nor whole; but that their bones are cast upon the beach, after the fish is rotted or washed off from them, and these supply the inhabitants with materials for building their houses;" for he tells us, just before, that they "use the ribs for beams and rafters, and the jaws for door-posts. He adds also, that they make the sockets wherein the joints of the back-bone turn, to

their bodies are consumed, and the fish all washed away, the bones of the skeleton serve the inhabitants instead of timber, wherewith to build their houses. The ribs and larger bones they choose for beams and rafters, the lesser for boards for covering, the jaw-bones for door-posts; for many of these whales grow to the length of a hundred cubits.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NEARCHUS having now passed the country of the Ichthyophagi, was told that there was a barren island in that sea, about a bundred stadia distant from the continent, called Nosala,* sacred to the sun, and not to be approached by any mortal; or if anybody be so imprudent as to venture on shore there, he immediately disappears, and is seen no more. Whereupon he dispatched one small galley, manned with Ægyptian mariners, who having entered the island, vanished out of sight; and his commanders reported, that the sailors having rashly ventured to land, were suddenly hurried away. However, he afterwards sent a ship of thirty oars, to coast round the island (but ordered them not to attempt to land), and all the way as they sailed along the shore thereof, to call upon the pilot of the ship by name, or any other of the most noted mariners. But when none durst undertake the voyage, he tells us he attempted it himself, and forced some mariners, even against their will, to

serve them for mortars, wherein they pound those fish which they have roasted in the sun, and of these, mixed with a little flour, they make bread."

We have an account of this island in several authors, especially in Strabo, p. 1056, though he names it not; but as his is the same in substance with the first part of Arrian's, it is not necessary here to repeat it. Curtius gives us some faint glimmerings of this, lib. x. cap. 1, 5: for he says, that "many ships with slaves and merchandise, venturing to an island for the sake of gold, were never seen afterwards."

attend him on board. But when they came to make a descent, they found all that story relating to the island vain and fictitious. However, he assures us, he heard another story concerning it; namely, tha one of the Nereids had chosen it for her place of residence, and that she was wont to have carnal knowledge of all the men who, by any accident, were forced on shore there; and afterwards she changed them into fish, and sent them into the sea. Whereupon the sun, being enraged against her, commanded her to depart out of the island; but she beseeching him to free her from her innate rage of lust, he not only granted her request, but also, that whomsoever her' enchantments had metamorphosed into fish, should re-assume their former shapes, and become men again: and from these men thus reduced, he tells us. proceeded the nation of the Ichthyophagi, which continued till Alexander's time. As for my part, I cannot forbear wondering, that Nearchus should so far abuse his natural wisdom and known sagacity, to suffer himself to be imposed upon by a story, when he might so easily have found out the truth; and cannot think it redounds to his honour, unless he deemed the fables and fictions of ancient times so sacred as not to be contradicted.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BEYOND the Ichthyophagi, in the inland parts, dwell the Gadrosii, in a barren and sandy country, where Alexander and his army suffered intolerable hardships, as is already mentioned in the foregoing work. After Nearchus, with the fleet under his command, had passed the coasts of the Ichthyophagi, they came to Carmania, and anchored their ships in the sea, because the shore there was rocky and dangerous. Thence they stretched their course not so nigh the west as before, but rather between the south and

west. Carmania is a country much more fertile, both in corn and fruits, than either those of the Ichthyophagi or Oritæ; and much better stored with grass and fresh water. When they arrived at Badis, a well cultivated place of Carmania, they found plenty of fruit-trees, of most kinds, except olives; as also great Thence proceeding eight store of vines and corn. hundred stadia, they touched upon a shore wholly From this place, they saw a huge promontory stretched out a vast way into the ocean, which seemed about a day's sail distant from them. Those who understood the situation of the country affirmed. that this promontory belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta, and that cinnamon and other fragrant spices were conveyed thence to the Assyrians. From this shore, where the fleet lay at anchor, and the promontory which they then saw before them (according to Nearchus's opinion, to which I readily assent), the Gulf of Persia, which some call the Red Sea, has its beginning. When Onesicritus viewed this promontory, he gave orders that the fleet should steer directly thither; but Nearchus opposed him, and declared, "That Onesicritus must have a shallow memory, if he did not remember for what purpose the fleet was ordered to pass those seas. He then assured him, that the above-mentioned voyage was not undertaken, because the king was unable to convey the whole army safe home by land, but because he had fixed a resolution of viewing the situation of all shores, havens, and islands; of searching the bottom of all gulfs and creeks, and having an account given him of all maritime places, and which countries were fruitful and which barren and uninhabited; and that therefore they ought not entirely to pervert the whole design, when they were now well nigh the end of their voyage; especially seeing they wanted no necessaries to prosecute it: he was afraid, as that promontory stretched itself so much to the southward, that by sailing round the point, they might fall upon

some sandy, barren, and sun-burnt region." Nearchus's judgment prevailed, and this seasonable advice of his seems to me to have preserved the fleet; for all the country adjacent to that promontory is said to be wild and uncultivated, and wholly destitute of fresh water.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE fleet moving thence, and passing along shore the space of seven hundred stadia, came to another coast called Neoptana; and leaving that place about day-break, and sailing a hundred stadia further, they arrived at a town called Harmozia, at the mouth of the river Anamis, in a country pleasant and agreeable, and abounding in every thing except olives. Here going on shore, they gladly refreshed themselves, after so many and hard labours, and joyfully reflected on the various accidents they had encountered during the whole voyage. They there called to mind their great distresses among the Ichthyophagi; their touching upon desert and uninhabited coasts; their falling in among nations savage and inhospitable, while they laboured under the most dreadful circumstances of hunger and thirst. In the mean while, some of them roving further than ordinary into the country, at a distance from their companions, as their own fancies directed them, found there a certain person, whose cloak and all other habiliments were perfectly shaped after the Grecian manner, and who also spoke Greek; at the sight of whom they could not refrain tears of joy; so strange and unexpected a thing it was for them, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, to see one of their own countrymen, and hear their own language spoken. They then asked him who he was, and how he came thither? He replied, that he was a Grecian, who had wander-

ed from Alexander's camp, and that the king and his whole army were not far distant. He was thereupon conducted to Nearchus, with all the acclamations of joy imaginable, and told him, that the army lay encamped about five days' journey from that place. He also proposed to bring the governor of that province to Nearchus, and performed it accordingly. He consulted with him how he should go to the king by land; which done, they went on board the fleet together. Early the next morning he ordered the ships to be drawn on shore, partly to repair whatever was broken or shattered during the voyage, and partly because he determined to leave most of his forces there: wherefore he took care to run a double rampart and ditch of earth round, to secure them; and make a deep ditch from the bank of the river, to that part of the shore where the whole navy lay.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

In the mean time, while Nearchus was busied in making preparations for his journey, the governor of that province, knowing how solicitous the king was for the safety of his fleet, imagined he should be royally rewarded, if he carried the first news that the army was safe, and Nearchus on his way thither; wherefore, taking the nearest road, he came to Alexander, and told him the story. The king, though he gave no credit to his intelligence, was nevertheless rejoiced at the news. But when several days passed from the time when he received the first notice thereof, he began to suspect the truth of what had been told him; and when several messengers had been dispatched, one after another, to convey Nearchus thither; and some, when they had gone a little way, returned, without being able to give any account of him; and others, who had gone further, but found him not, returned not at all; then the king ordered

the man, who had thus augmented his sorrow by an unseasonable joy, to be taken into custody, as the author of a false rumour; and he then began to show by his countenance the excessive grief which he had harboured in his breast. In the mean while others. who were dispatched with horses and chariots to seek and bring up Nearchus, met him and Archias on their way, with no more than five or six attendants. At the first sight they knew neither of them, they were so much altered, and looked so different from what they had formerly done. The hair of their heads and their beards hung down in a neglected manner; their faces were weather-beaten, swarthy. and sun-burnt, and their bodies emaciated with much watching and hard labour. When Nearchus and his companions asked them the way to Alexander's camp, they gave them directions, and marched straight forwards: but Archias imagining on what errand they were sent, turned to Nearchus, and told him, that those men, taking the same way by which they came, he verily thought were dispatched on purpose to seek for them; that he did not wonder they knew them not, they being so vastly changed, as well in face as habit; but, says he, let us make ourselves known to them, and inquire the reason of their journey this This advice pleasing Nearchus, they asked way. them whither they intended to travel; and received answer, that they were sent to search for Nearchus and the army on board the fleet; to whom he immediately replied, I am Nearchus, and this man is Archias; be ye therefore our guides to the camp, and we will satisfy the king concerning the safety of both.

CHAPTER XXXV.

TAKING them therefore into their chariots, they returned towards the camp. Some of the company,

notwithstanding, having an ambition to carry the first news, hasted, and told the king that Nearchus approached in person, and with him Archias, and five more of their companions; but as to the army, he had heard nothing concerning it, and therefore could give no account of it. From this news Alexander gathered that Nearchus and Archias were, by some extraordinary providence, happily preserved, but that the whole army on board was lost, and therefore his joy for their preservation could hardly balance the grief be endured for the supposed loss of the fleet. However, the messenger had scarce made an end of speaking, when Nearchus and Archias arrived, whom Alexander could hardly know, they were so rough and weather-beaten, and their clothes in such a tattered condition. And this mean appearance of theirs served to confirm him in the opinion he had conceived of the disaster happened to the fleet, and heightened his grief on that occasion. Wherefore taking Nearchus by the right hand, and leading him apart from among his friends and guards, he wept for a long time: but at last restraining his tears; "Forasmuch as you, Nearchus, and Archias," says he. "are returned safe and unburt, I bear the loss of the whole fleet with patience; but resolve me, by what misfortune the navy and army on board came to perish." Then Nearchus, perceiving the cause of his grief, replied, "O king, your navy and army are both safe, and we are come as messengers of their happy arrival." The king no sooner heard these words, but tears of joy succeeded those of sorrow, because his fleet was preserved, so contrary to his expectations: he then inquired of Nearchus where they were in harbour; who assured him, they were at the mouth of the river Anamis, and drawn on shore to be repaired. The king then swore by the Grecian Jove, and the Libyan Hammon, that the preservation of his fleet was more acceptable to him than the conquest of Asia, and that the grief he should have

endured for the loss of that, would have over-balanced all his joy for the acquisition of the other.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE governor of the province, who had been taken into custody on suspicion of false intelligence, beholding Nearchus, fell at his feet, and cried out, "I am he who brought the king the first news of your safe arrival, and see how I am received:" then, at Nearchus's request, he was set at liberty. Alexander then offered sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, Hercules, and Apollo Alexicacus (or the preventer of misfortunes), to Neptune, and the other sea-gods. for the preservation of his navy; he also exhibited sports of music and wrestling, himself leading on the show. Nearchus was honoured with the chief place there, and had flowers and garlands strowed before him by all the army. Which done, the king spoke to him to this effect: " I will henceforth no more expose thee, O Nearchus, to fresh toils and hazards, but will depute some other to convey the fleet to Susa." To whom Nearchus replied, "I desire, and am in duty bound, to obey my sovereign in all things; but if you will show me any favour, let me obtain this my earnest request, to preside over the fleet, and army on board, till they be safe at Susa; and, as I have with great danger and hazards brought them thus far, let not another reap the glory of my toils, and finish what is now easy and delightful." Whilst he was thus speaking, Alexander ordered him to take heart, for his request was granted; and so dismissed him. with a slender guard, to his ships, because they were not to pass through an enemy's country. However, this journey of Nearchus back to the sea-shore was not without danger; for the Barbarians having gathered vast forces together, had already assaulted and taken all the strong holds in Carmania; for their

governor * had finished what was ordered him by Alexander, and Tlepolemus, who was newly deputed to succeed him, had not yet got so firm possession, by reducing the natives, but that two or three different parties of them attacked Nearchus and his companions all in one day; wherefore, making what haste they could, they with much trouble and difficulty at last arrived safe at the sea-shore. There Nearchus offered sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, and ordered gymnic exercises to be solemnly exhibited.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ALL religious duties being then fully performed, they left that port, and set sail; and passing by a small island, rocky and barren, arrived at another, larger and well-inhabited, about three hundred stadia distant from the place whence they sailed: the barren island was called Organa, but that where they landed Oaracta.† It produced plenty of vines, palm-trees, and

† I cannot imagine how Strabo, who most commonly copies from the same author with Arrian, should make Tyrina the burial-place of king Erythras, lib. xv. p. 1111: not only contrary

^{*} Blankard, in his Notes upon Arrian, has taxed his author with an oversight here; and so has Freinshemius in his Observations upon Curtius, lib. ix. cap, 10, 21: but both of them have fallen into an error, by following Vulcanius's faulty translation, instead of adhering close to the original. Arrian's words are, "Οτι καὶ, ο σατράπης αυτοῖσι τετελευτήκει κατα πρόσταξιν 'Αλέξavoes. This, Vulcanius has translated, Nam satrapa corum jussu Alexandri interfectus fuerat. And Freinshemius has copied him word for word. Their mistake lies in translating the word τετελευτήκει, by the Latin word interfectus fuerat (was put to death), when it only signifies perfecit, that is, he had finished the task enjoined him. This governor was Sibyrtius, whom Arrian mentions as promoted from Carmania, to succeed Thoas in the government of the Gadrosii, lib. vi. cap. 27. Thus Arrian is consistent with himself; and as for Curtius's Aspastes, whom he mentions as governor of Carmania, I cannot tell what to make of him; for unless' (as the author of the Delphini Notes imagines) Carmania was divided into two governments, like Media, Curtius must be in an error.

corn, and was full eight hundred stadia in length. The governor thereof, Mazanes by name, freely offered Nearchus his service, both as a companion and pilot, in his voyage to Susa. In this island the sepulchre of the first monarch thereof is said still to remain, and that his name was Erythras, and from him the sea was called Mare Erythraum. Thence, they sailed about two hundred stadia further, and arrived at another port in the same island; and thence they had the prospect of another island, about forty stadia distant, which was said to be sacred to Neptune, and inaccessible. They departed thence early in the morning, but were attacked so furiously by a sudden storm, that three of their ships were forced among the shallows, and the rest with much difficulty escaped from that rocky shore, and got safe into deep water. However, those ships which were forced on shore were again drawn off when the storm ceased, and the next day joined the rest of the fleet. Thence they proceeded all together four hundred stadia further, to another island, three hundred stadia from the main land, where they harboured. Thence moving early in the morning, and leaving a small desolate island, called Pylora, on the left hand, they arrived at Sidodone, a small town, destitute of all necessaries but fish and fresh water; and therefore

to Arrian, but all geographers besides; for Dionysius, Pliny, Mela, Stephanus, and Solinus, call it Ogyris; Ptolemy and Arrian Ουοράχθα. Vossius has endeavoured to reconcile Strabo with the rest, by imagining the name Tyrina to be false, and substituting Gyrina, or Ogyrina, in its place, which sounds something like Ogyris; but if we should admit this, what will he do with his Doracta afterwards, where the same story is related, which Arrian gives us, of Mazanes the governor thereof offering himself to Nearchus for a pilot? I much rather therefore imagine his Tyrina to be the same with Arrian's Organa, and his Doracta, Arrian's Oaracta; and that the fabulous story of king Erythras's monument is fixed by some to one of these islands, and by others, to the other; and thus the Organa of Arrian may be the Tyrina of Strabo, and the Ogyris of Dionysius, Pliny, Mela, Solinus, and Stephanus.

necessity makes them to be Ichthyophagi, or fisheaters, because they live in a country wholly uncultivated. Departing thence, they sailed three hundred
stadia to Tarsias, a promontory which runs far out
into the sea; and thence, three hundred more to
Catea, an island barren and rocky, which is said to
be sacred to Mercury and Venus. Into this, island
sheep and goats are yearly conveyed by the inhabitants of the adjacent parts, as offerings to the god
and goddess thereof; all which, the length of time
and the barrenness of the place carry off, though the
supplies be as constant as the consumption.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Thus far-Carmania extends, but stretching further, enters upon the territories of Persia: the length of this voyage, along the coast of Carmania, is three thousand seven hundred stadia.* The Carmanians

• Strabo and Arrian agree exactly in the whole length of the coast of Carmania; but Arrian is deficient in one of his distances, namely, from the first entrance upon the coast, to Badis. Whether this has been the neglect of transcribers or editors, I know not. However, as this is, I fancy it is the most curious, as well as the most perfect ancient journal of a voyage extant. The several distances along the coast of Carmania stand thus:

	Stadia.
From the entrance upon the coast, to Badis, the distance is omitted.	
Thence to Maceta,	800
Neoptana,	700
Harmozia,	
Qaracta,	30Q
Another port in Oaracta,	200
An island sacred to Neptune,	40
Pylora,	400
Thence to Sidodone, the distance omitted,	••••
Tarsias,	3 00
Catea,	300
The whole sum is	3140

To which we may well suppose, if the first distance omitted, and

live after the Persian manner, as being their next neighbours: they use the same arms, and observe the same martial discipline. The fleet sailed from thence four hundred stadia, and came to a certain place called Ilas, upon the Persian shore, opposite to which is an island named Caicandrus, which forms the haven. The next morning they arrived at an inhabited island. wherein, as in the Indian Ocean, Nearchus assures us, pearls were found. Having passed the utmost point of this island, which was forty stadia further, they there found a convenient station for the fleet. Thence they sailed to Ochus, a high mountain or promoutory, where they found a haven safe from storms, and a place inhabited by fishermen: steering four hundred and fifty stadia further, they arrived at Apostani, where they found many ships at anchor, and where was a village about sixty stadia from the shore. Thence, renewing their voyage by night, and having gained four hundred stadia, they came into a noted bay, where were many villages, and where they lay at anchor nigh the foot of a mountain. The country thereabouts produces palms, and other fruit-bearing trees, as good, and in as great plenty, as Greece. Thence they passed on about six hundred stadia further, and arrived at Gogana, a country well-inhabited; they anchored the fleet at the mouth of a certain small brook, or river, called Areon, a station dangerous enough, the entrance thereto being extremely narrow, and almost choked up with sand. they proceeded to the mouth of another river, named Sitacus, about eight hundred stadia further, where they found a safe station. The whole voyage along the Persian coast was among rocks and shallows; and the shore itself was low marshy ground. There

the distance between Pylora and Sidodone were added, they would make up the 560 stadia, which are here wanting to complete the whole extent of the province of Carmania along the seaccoast.

Nearchus found plenty of corn, which the king had purposely conveyed thither, for the sustenance of the army on board. There they tarried twenty-one days; and not only drew all their crazy and weather-beaten ships on shore and repaired them, but refitted some, which were, at first sight, judged incapable of proceeding further.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THEN again putting forwards, they arrived at Hieratis, a place well-inhabited, about seven hundred and fifty stadia distant from their former station; where they drew their fleet up into a canal called Heratemis, and departing thence early the next morning, came to the mouth of a river called Podargus. country, which is a peninsula, and called Mesambria. they found stored with gardens, and in them, fruitbearing trees of all kinds. Thence sailing about two hundred stadia, they arrived at Taoce, nigh the mouth of the river Granis: about two hundred stadia up this river, in the inland parts, is a palace of the Persian monarchs. During this voyage, Nearchus assures us he saw a whale which had been cast ashore, and that some of his sailors measured the length thereof, which amounted to fifty cubits: his skin was rough and scaly, and a full cubit in thickness, and many oysters, and several kinds of shell-fish, with much sea-weed, stuck to him, as to a rock. Many dolphins were seen not far off, much larger than those which our seas produce. Thence passing forwards about two hundred stadia, they arrived at the mouth of the river Ragonis, where was a safe haven; and four hundred stadia still further, they came to the mouth of another river called Brizana, where they had a station unsafe, because of the numerous rocks and shelves thereabouts; while the tide flowed in. they rode well enough, but when the ebb came on.

they stuck fast among the shallows. However, the next tide they sailed thence, and anchored at the mouth of the river Arosis, which, Nearchus tells us, is the largest of all those which he had observed, during his whole voyage in the foreign ocean.

CHAPTER XL.

THE Persian territories extend to this river, and no further; those of Susa beginning on the other side. The Susians live according to their own laws. Those further up the mid-land country are called Uxii, whom we have branded with thievery, in the foregoing Work. The whole coast of Persia is four thousand and four hundred stadia in length.* The extent of the Persian dominions may be aptly divided into three parts, according to the situation. The southern part, bordering upon the Red Sea, is sandy and bar-

* All the particular distances which they sailed along the Persian coast have been here exactly pointed out by Arrian; but the same misfortune has happened to this, as to some of the rest, namely, an omission of one or two. However, I shall present them to my reader's view, in the best order I am able.

	ıdia.
From the first entrance upon the Persian coast, to Ilas, is 4	
Thence to the Pearl island,	40
Apostani, 4	50
A bay not named,4	Ю0
Gogana, 6	000
Sitacus,	
Hieratis, 7	50
Podargus,	
Taoce, 2	
Ragonis river, 2	
Brizana river.	
Arosis river,	_

The sum of these distances......4240

And undoubtedly the distance between Hieratis and Podargus, and between Brizana and Arosis, would make up the remaining 160 stadia. Strabo agrees exactly with Arrian in the whole distance.

ren, and parched with heat. The middle part, lying more northerly, under a temperate climate, abounds in corn and grass; has many fair, well-watered, and spacious meads; and sundry vineyards, stored with all sorts of fruit-bearing trees, except olives. Their gardens are pleasant and delightful; their rivers and streams cool and limpid, and plentifully stored with all sorts of water-fowl. It has also vast pastures fit for feeding horses and other cattle, and spacious wood-lands for hunting. The third and northernmost division of this country is cold and barren, and often covered with snow. Nearchus tells us, that certain ambassadors came from the coasts of the Euxine Sea. by a very short way, to meet Alexander in Persia: and when he admired at the quickness of their journey, they demonstrated to him the shortness of the That the Uxii border upon the Susians, has been declared already; as also the Mardi, who are thieves, upon the Persians; and the Cosseans upon the Medes. All these nations Alexander overran in the winter-season; when they deemed themselves secure, by the depth of their snows and the badness of their roads. He also built cities among them, that they might no longer wander about, without any settled places of residence, but be husbandmen and feeders of cattle; and having each a property of their own to defend, might hereafter abstain from encroaching upon their neighbours. Thence the fleet entered upon the country of Susa; and from this place Nearchus tells us, he cannot give such a certain account of all occurrences relating to the voyage, as before, except the several ports they entered, and the distances they sailed. All the tract of sea along that coast is shallow water, and rocky; so that no haven can be gained, without some danger. They therefore took care, while they lay at the mouth of that river, on the confines of Persia, to take in a supply of fresh-water for five days, their pilots having assured them that none was to be found along that coast.

CHAPTER XLI.

ABOUT five hundred stadia distant from their former station, they cast anchor at the mouth of a certain lake, called Cataderbis, well stored with fish; a small island named Margastana lying opposite to it. parting thence, the next morning they sailed through some shallows, the channel being so narrow as not to admit of two ships to sail a-breast. Huge posts, or pieces of timber, are fixed here and there, to point out the way, in the same manner as those sea-marks upon the isthmus between the island Leucadia and Acarnania, to guide mariners in their course, and prevent their falling in among the shallows. Those Leucadian shallows are between sands, so that the vessels which happen to fall among them are easily hoisted off by the returning tide. But this is a deep stiff clay on each hand; so that ships sticking there. are never to be moved by any human artifice; for long poles thrust into it avail nothing; nor can the sailors venture out of their vessels to recover their poles thus thrust down into the clayey bottom, because it yields to their weight, and sucks them up to their arm-pits. Thus they sailed six hundred stadia with the greatest difficulty, not during to put into any port to refresh themselves. All night they kept off from the shore, and all the next day, until the evening, when they had gained nine hundred stadia, and now approached the mouth of the river Euphrates, and came to a small village in the Babylonian territories, named Diridotis; to which place the Arabian merchants bring frankincense and all other spices, the produce of their country, to dispose of. From the mouth of this river, up to Babylon, Nearchus reckons it to be three thousand three hundred stadia.

CHAPTER XLII.

HERE they received a messenger, who brought them an account of Alexander's march to Susa; wherefore steering their course somewhat backward, they designed to sail by the river Pasitigris,* to meet him. Wherefore, passing along the coast, and keeping the country of Susa on their left hand, they passed through the lake by which the Tigris empties itself. This river has its rise in Armenia, and flowing by Ninus, once a rich and populous city, gives the name of Mesopotamia to the country lying betwixt it and Euphrates. From this lake to the river itself, is six hundred stadia, where is a village of the Susians, called Aginis, five hundred stadia distant from Susa. The whole length of the Susian coast, to the mouth of the Pasitigris, is two thousand stadia.† Thence they sailed up the river Pasitigris, through a rich and populous

- * That the river here called Pasitigris, and the river Eulæus mentioned by Arrian, lib. viii. cap. 7, are the same, is evident; because the same fleet which Nearchus carried up the Pasitigris towards Susa, Alexander conveyed down the river Eulæus, and passing out at the mouth thereof, sailed up the Tigris, as far as the city Opis, where his old Macedonian soldiers happening to mutiny, he ordered thirteen of them to be put to death. The city Susa is called Shushan by Daniel, and the river Ulai is there mentioned, Dan. chap. viii. vers. 2; which river I cannot forbear thinking the same with this Eulæus. Curtius calls it Choaspes.
- † The several distances which they sailed along the Susian coast, exactly agree with the whole distance here given; for

:	Stadia.
From the mouth of the river Arisis, to Cataderbis, is	<i>5</i> 00
Thence the first day's sail was	600
And the next day and night they gained	900
-	

The whole distance

Which is the length of the whole Susian coast to Diridotis, at the

mouth of the river Euphrates.

And now, as I have presented my readers with the several small distances which they sailed along each coast, it may not be im-

country, one hundred and fifty stadia; and there tarried, expecting the return of those whom Nearchus had sent to inquire where the king lay encamped. In the mean time he offered sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for the preservation of his fleet: and exhibited sports, the whole army showing extraordinary signs of joy. When news of Alexander's approach arrived, they again sailed up the stream, to a bridge newly built, over which the king was to pass his forces, in their march to Susa. Here the two armies joined. Alexander then offered sacrifices, as well for the safety of the naval army as the land forces. and exhibited various kinds of sports. And whereever Nearchus directed his steps, his way was strowed with flowers and garlands. After this, the king bestowed a crown of gold upon him, for the preservation of the navy; and another upon Leonnatus, for the victory which he had gained over the Oritæ and other barbarous nations. And thus was the army conveyed safe through the ocean, from the mouth of the river Indus. to Alexander.

proper to add the length of each coast, whereby we may come to a knowledge of the extent of the whole voyage; and this I shall do in the same method as before; for

	Stadia.
The whole length of the coast of the Arabitæ is	1,000
The length of the Oritæ,	1,600
Ichthyophagi,	10,000
Ichthyophagi,	3,700
Persia,	
Susa,	

The length of the several coasts added, make ... 22,700 stadia; or 2837 English miles, from the mouth of the river Indus to the mouth of the river Euphrates, or the whole distance sailed; and thence 3300 furlongs up the river carried them to Babylon.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE country which lies to the right hand of the Red Sea, beyond the Babylonian territories, belongs chiefly to Arabia, part of which borders upon the Phænician and Syro-Palestine Sea; but towards the west and the Mediterranean, Ægypt is adjacent to Arabia. gulf, which runs into the land from the ocean, as far as Ægypt, manifestly shows the possibility of sailing from Babylon thither. But no mortal ever yet durst sail to those parts, by reason of the vast heat of the sun, and the desert shores, unless he steered his course by the middle of the channel; for those remains of Cambyses's army, who escaped safe from Ægypt to Susa, and those who were dispatched by Ptolemy the son of Lagus to Seleucus Nicanor into Babylonia, travelled over a certain isthmus of Arabia eight whole days, in a desert country wholly destitute of water; but this they performed upon camels, who carried water upon their backs, and they marched by night; for they were not able to stir abroad by day, by reason of the burning heat of the sun. A country therefore, lying to the southwards of that isthmus, where the Arabian Gulf joins the Red Sea, must certainly be uninhabitable, when that which lies much more to the northward is desert and wholly covered with sand. However, some venturing upon a voyage from that part of the Arabian Gulf towards Ægypt, when they had coasted round the greatest part of Arabia, in hopes to reach the Persian or Susian shores, began to be in want of water, and therefore sailed back again. Those also whom Alexander dispatched from Babylon, to search the remotest parts of those countries to the right hand of the Red Sea, saw indeed some islands, and now and then ventured to land on the continent; but the further side of that promontory, which Nearchus assures us he saw, opposite to the coast of Car-

mania, none ever could yet reach by a sea-voyage. And truly I am inclined to believe, if that part of the ocean had been navigable, or those coasts to have been come at, Alexander's ambition would not have left them undiscovered. Hanno the Libyan, in a voyage which he undertook from Carthage into the ocean beyond Hercules's Pillars, leaving Africa on the left hand, continued his course for five and thirty days towards the east; but when he began to steer southward, he fell into great straits for want of water; besides, the scorching heats, like showers of fire, darting upon the ocean, forced him to return. However, Cyrene, a city of Libya, is an exception to this rule; for notwithstanding it is seated in the midst of vast deserts, yet the country round it is pleasant, fruitful, and well watered, abounding in shady woods and grassy fields, and producing all sorts of fruits and cattle, as far as the place where the sylphium grows, but all beyond is wholly desert, and overwhelmed with sand.*

* I am of opinion that Arrian has transcribed this whole journal of Nearchus word for word, because he adds at the close of all, "This small tract was written by me, who belong to Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon." This can be applicable to none but Nearchus. Pliny and Strabo, and sundry other geographers, have been nibbling at it, and by their cutting and curtailing have spoiled it. But Arrian is abundantly fuller than any of them, and clearer than all of them, and for that reason has less occasion for a commentator.

THE END OF THE INDIAN HISTORY.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

AND

CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER,

AFTER HIS DEATH.

THE reason why Arrian has made no mention of the division of Alexander's empire among his captains, after his death, in the History of Alexander's Expedition, was, because he wrote ten books upon that very subject, which the injury of time has deprived us of: the loss of which Freinshemius exceedingly laments. However, Photius, in his Bibliothec. lib. xcii. has obliged us with a short abridgment thereof; which, though it be not perhaps an hundredth part of the wholework, yet it is much more full and exact than any other upon the same subject. I have therefore here presented my readers with a translation of Arrian's account, from Photius's Abridgment, and added notes and observations, by way of comparison between him and most other authors who have touched upon that story.

THE same author (Arrian) wrote an account of the transactions after Alexander's decease, in ten books, wherein he comprehends the sedition of the army, and the choice made of Aridæus* (whom Philine, a Thessalian woman, bore to Philip the father of Alexander), to be their monarch, on condition that the young Alexander which Roxane should bear might reign with him. This was assented to, and accordingly complied with as soon as the child was born; whereupon they again proclaimed Aridæus by the name of Philip. However, the infantry disagreed with the cavalry. The chief of the captains of horse, and those who swayed the rest, were Perdiccas the son of Orontes, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus; the next, Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, Aristonus the son of Piseus. Pithon the son of Crateas, Seleucus the son of Antiochus, and Eumenes the Cardian; and Meleager commanded the foot forces. Several offers of accommodation were made by both parties; and at last the infantry, who had already made choice of a king, came to an agreement with the captains of the cavalry, that Antipater † should be con-

^{*} Aridseus was set over the whole empire, with a royal power, or rather the bare name of king, according to Curtius; Diodorus, lib. xviii. cap. 2.; Appian, Dexippus in Photius, lib. lxxxii. Eusebius, Arrian in Photius, lib. lxii.; and the barbarous Latin chronological extract. But the author of the last-named extract having read that he was appointed ruler over all Macedonia, imagined it only the Macedonian kingdom, as contained within its ancient limits, and that the whole empire was divided into four parts; which error he perhaps received from St. Jerom, who copied it from Daniel, cap. viii. whom he follows blindly, and at all adventures.

[†] Justin attributes Macedonia and Greece to Antipater; Diedorus, Macedonia and the neighbouring nations, which is the same thing. Dexippus, in *Photius*, lib. lxxxii., extends his power over all Macedonia and Greece, as also over the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians, and all those over whom he had been deputed general by Alexander in his life-time. The same author, in Eu-

stituted general of the forces in Europe; Craterus, * protector of Aridæus's kingdom; Perdiccas,† commander of the troops which Hephæstion had, (which was indeed to commit the affairs of the whole empire,

sebius, joins his son Cassander as sharer with him in the government. Arrian elsewhere assures us, that the country beyond Thrace, as also the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, with all Greece, fell under the jurisdiction of The barbarous Latin chronologer asserts, that Antipater was ordered to rule over Spain, as far as the river Alyus and the Herculean boundary. But what he means by Spain here, is not easy to guess: sure he could not design Iberia, though I find it so noted in the margin by a great editor; but he was one who set so light by such trifles, as not to think them worth his consideration. Perhaps the Greek author might have wrote τὰ Ἑσπέρια, that is, the western parts of the empire were allotted to Antipater; which he changed to Spain, because he found Spain sometimes called by that name. However, by the river Alyus, he seems to mean Halys; and by the Herculean limits, the Pillars of Hercules. The Tables of Eusebius assign the country of Pontus to Antipater; from what authority I know not, for Cedrenus had his account from them. However, Antipater soon after retained his first sovereignty over Europe. See Diodorus, lib. xviii.; and Arrian, lib. ix.

* Craterus the son of Alexander of Orestis, a city of Macedonia, (Arrian. Indic. cap. xviii.) was ordered by Alexander to pass over into Europe, and take upon him the government of the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thracians, instead of Antipater (Arrian, lib. viii. cap. 12); but he dying in the mean time, Craterus was appointed keeper of the royal treasury, (Justin,) and ordered to have a joint command, over Macedonia and the neighbouring countries, with Antipater (Arrian). He had also the guardianship of the king's person assigned him, and the oversight of whatever belonged to the royal palace (Dexippus).

+ Perdiccas the son of Orontes, a Macedonian, of Orestis, (Arrian. Indic. cap. xviii.) dividing the empire at pleasure, (Curtius, Arrian, Appian, Justin.) assumed the post of attending upon the king, and commanding the troops which followed him; that is, of being king himself. Whence Cedrenus and Iornandes, (in his Get. cap. x.) supposed he had been really king of Macedonia, and they assign to him the government of the Athenians. However, by reason of his great power, both Arrian and Diodorus call him the king's deputy. The barbarous Latin chronologer styles him commander-in-chief. Dexippus, in Eusebius, adds the Greater Phrygia to his government, if that be really an extract from Dexippus; for in Photius he agrees with Arrian.

and its safety, into his hands), and Meleager * was to act as his deputy or assistant. Whereupon Perdiccas afterwards making a feint of viewing the army, seized the chief authors of the sedition, and (as if king Aridæus had ordered it, even before his face) put them to death. This struck a terror into the rest, and soon after he slew Meleager also. Hereupon Perdiccas fell under the suspicion of all the rest, and he began to be as jealous of them. However, he proceeded to nominate them to the governments of provinces, in the same manner as if Aridæus had commanded him: accordingly Ptolemy † the son of Lagus was by him deputed to preside over Ægypt and Libya, with that part of Arabia adjacent to Ægypt;

• Meleager the son of Neoptolemus, (Arrian. Indic. cap. xviii.) according to Curtius and Arrian, was slain before the division was made, which is very reasonable to believe, for Perdiccas could have enjoyed no such absolute sway while he had lived. I therefore make no wonder that authors differ about the province assigned to him. For Cedrenus, with the Eusebian Tables, bestow Paphlagonia upon him; Diodorus, Lydia. The barbarous Latin chronologer, Cælosyria and Phœnicia. However, it is enough to say, he was otherwise disposed of before the division was made, and dead men have no taste of dignities.

+ Ptolemy the son of Lagus, of Eordæum, (Arrian. Indic. cap, xviii.) obtained the government of Ægypt, and that part of Africa which had been conquered by the Macedonians. (Cedrenus, the Eusebian Tables, Justin, Orosius, Constantinus Manasses, Diodorus, Dexippus; and Arrian, in both divisions, tells us almost the same thing.) The barbarous Latin chronologer says, he (namely Perdiccas) bestowed Ægypt and the adjacent countries, as far as the Higher Libya, on Philip, who was called Ptolemy; which he soon after repeats in the same words. He undoubtedly found it in the Greek, Πτολεμαίω τω λεγομένω Φιλίππου, " to Ptolemy, who was called the son of Philip." That he was generally supposed to be the real son of Philip, I have shown in the Notes to Arrian's Preface. Antipater, in his distribution of the provinces, confirmed his portion; for he would scarce have been able to have wrested it out of his hands, he had acquired such a vast power. (Diodorus, lib. xviii. 39.; Arrian, lib. ix.) His descendants enjoyed the sovereignty there until the days of Augustus Cæsar, and Cleopatra was the last of the race of the Ptolemies.

and Cleomenes,* who had been constituted governor of Ægypt by Alexander, was made Ptolemy's deputy. That part of Syria which lay under this district was bestowed upon Laomedon.† Philotas ‡ was made prefect of Cilicia, and Python § of Media. Eu-

* Justin tells us, that Cleomenes was dispatched to Ptolemy, to be invested in the government of Ægypt, which had been allotted him. This Cleomenes had been before appointed overseer of the buildings of Alexandria, not as an architect, (for that would confound him with Dinocrates,) but as governor; or rather, as Curtius has it, as collector of the revenues of Africa and Ægypt. And as some things in Justin are disputable, Dexippus may serve to explain what the other gives us in obscure terms. "Cleomenes," says he, "who was constituted lieutenant of this province by Alexander, was ordered to be Ptolemy's vicegerent, or deputy." This Arrian confirms. Pausanias adds, that he was afterwards slain by Ptolemy, for favouring Perdiccas.

† Laomedon, the Mitylenean, was invested in the government of Syria and Phœnicia. (Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, Justin, Orosius, Dexippus.) He was afterwards beaten out of it by Ptolemy. (Diodorus, lib. xviii. 43; Appian, Mithrid.) Antipater, in the other division, mentioned by Arrian, confirmed him in his government. Syria with Phœnicia, and all the countries there-

abouts, were afterwards subdued entirely by Seleucus.

† Philotas had first that part of Phrygia which runs along the Hellespont (Diodorus, xviii. 12). Then Cilicia (Arrian, Cartius, Diodorus, Dexippus, Justin, Orosius). The barbarous Latinchronologer tells us, that he (Perdiccas) granted to Philo, Cilicia and Isauria, with all the circumjacent tract. However, that prevince was soon after torn away from him, (Justin. lib. xiii. 6, 16,) by reason of his siding with Antigonus, as may be gathered from Diodorus, lib. xviii. 62. The whole was afterwards conquered

by Seleucus.

6 Python the son of Crateas, or Crateas, an Alcomenean (Arrian. Indic. cap. 18); yet lib. vi. cap. 28, he calls him an Eordean. Diodorm, 19, 14, says he was a Parthian; but it ought rather to be a Parthiaian; which country Appian takes notice of in his Hlyrics, and whom Rheineccius quotes in the kingdom of Illyria, was deputed governor over Media. (Diodorus, Curtius, Dexippus, and Arrian, in both divisions.) Against all whom the authority of Cedrenus, and the Eusebian Tables, who assign Phrygia and Lydia to him, are of small weight; or that of the barbarous Latin chronologer, who gives him Syria as far as Mesopotamia. Media had been before bestowed upon Atrepates by Alexander. Arrian, lib. iv. p. 280. Blancard. He

menes the Cardian* received Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, with all the country along the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus, a colony of the Sinopeans. Pamphylia and Lycia, with the Greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; † Caria, to Cassander; ‡ Lydia

was governor thereof under Darius, (Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 8;) and held his share first by permission of the Macedonians, and afterwards in spite of them; and it was afterwards called by his name Atropatia. (Strabo, lib. xi.) Seleucus seized upon the rest,

having slain Nicanor, Antigonus's deputy. (Appian.)

* Eumenes the son of Hieronymus, the Cardian, (Arrian. Indic. cap. 18,) was invested with the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, with orders to defend the country as far as Trapezus, and wage war with Ariarathes, who alone refused to submit to the Macedonians, and held his sovereignty while Alexander was busy elsewhere. The barbarous Latin chronologer says, that Paphlagonia in Cappadocia had Eumenes the scribe for their king. Justin tells us the same story; but the Supplement to Eusebius allows him only Cappadocia; wherewith Cedronus agrees as usual. Perdiccas afterwards added both the Carias, with Lycia and Phrygia, to his kingdom. Justin, lib. xiii. 6. The provinces of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia may be said to have been rather promised to, than bestowed upon, Eumenes; for they were first in the hands of an enemy, namely, Ariarathes; and soon after he was slain, Eumenes was declared an enemy by the Macedonians, whereupon they were given to one Nicanor; and last of all Seleucus seized them.

† Antigonus the son of Philip obtained the government of Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Lycia. (Curtius, Diodorus, Appian, Arrian, lib. i. and ix. in Photius; who adds Lycaonia to his portion in the second division.) Dexippus assigns Pamphylia and Cilicia as far as Phrygia, to him; but a mistake has crept in there, by a repetition of the word kal, and kal kilkaw, written for kal lurilow, because the same author in Eusebius, positively assigns Lycia and the Lesser Phrygia to him. Cedrenus gives him Cilicia, as far as Mount Taurus. Justin, lib. xiii. cap. 4, allows him only Phrygia; and the barbarous Latin chronologer mentions the rest. "Antigonus," says he, "had all the country towards the North, and those towards Hyrcania assigned him. He afterwards ruled over the greatest part of Asia, as most of the above-cited authors testify; and with them agree the Eusebian additions, touching

the succession of the kings of Macedonia.

† Cassander the son of Antipater was dispatched governor of Caria. (Diodorus, Curtius, Justin, Orosius, Arrian, lib. i. in Photius,) for in the second division mentioned by Arrian, lib. ix. and in the extract of Dexippus, it is falsely written Asander, as Andreas Schottus has long ago remarked. The barbarous Latin

to Menander.* That part of Phrygia, which runs along the Hellespont, to Leonnatus.† Calas had obtained that province of Alexander himself before, and it was afterwards committed to Demarchus. Thus was Asia distributed among them at that time.

In Europe; Thrace with the Cherronese, and all the kingdoms adjacent to Thrace, as far as Salmydessus, a city upon the Euxine Sea, were given to Lysimachus; thut the countries beyond Thrace,

chronologer seems also to hint at Caria's being given to Cassander, when he tells us, that the Greater Phrygia and Cæsaria were bestowed upon Deasander. Cedrenus assigns Lycia upon the Hellespont to him, or rather Lycia and the Hellespont, as it appears in the Eusebian Tables. Justin speaks of his commanding the king's life-guards, which he might probably do afterwards; and Justin refers it to the wrong time, for he was made general of the horse by his father (Arrian, lib. ix.); and after his father's decease he obtained the kingdom of Macedonia. And this might perhaps induce Dexippus, in Eusebius, to imagine that he was his father's colleague in the government. This province was afterwards given to Eumenes, according to Justin, lib. xiii. 6.; but he lost both it and his life in fighting against Antigonus.

* Menander was sent into Lydia, (Curtius, Justin, Dexippus, Arrian,) or rather sent back; for Arrian assures us, that Alexander had bestowed that government upon him before. Vid. lib. iii. cap. 6. Diodorus allots Lydia to Meleager, by mistake, no doubt, for Meleager was dead before; and the additions to Eusebius, with Cedrenus, give it to Python. Antipater, in the second division mentioned by Arrian, lib. ix., assigned it to

Clitus; and it was afterwards conquered by Antigonus.

† Leonnatus the son of Antæus, the Pellæan, (Arrian. Indic. cap. 18,) had the government of the Lesser Phrygia along the Hellespont bestowed upon him, (Curtius, Justin, Diodorus, Arrian, Dexippus). Probus, in Eumenes, tells us, that Perdiccas gave him the dominion over that part of Asia, which lies between Mount Taurus and the Hellespont; and with him agree the Eusebian additions, Pausanias in his Attics, and Appian in his Syriacs. The barbarous Latin chronologer says, he ordered Leon to rule over Pontos, by which he must mean the Hellespont. This province was afterwards given to one Aridæus, who transported the body of Alexander from Babylon into Ægypt. (Arrian, lib. ix. Diodorus.) Though it is apparent from the last-mentioned author, that it was not Aridæus the king, as Justin falsely asserts, (lib. xiii. cap. 4,) but another of the same name.

Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, a Pellean, (Arrian. Indic. cap. 18,) was ordered to take upon him the government of

namely, the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians, as also Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, with all Greece, were assigned to Craterus and Antipater. Many provinces remained as Alexander had left them, under their own rulers, and for that reason were not comprehended in this division. Meanwhile Roxane brought forth a son, whom the soldiers immediately declared king; and indeed, all was full of sedition from the time of Alexander's decease; for Antipater waged war with the Athenians and the rest of Greece, whose forces Leosthenes commanded. At first he was reduced to great straits, however afterwards he gained the victory, but with the loss of Leonnatus, who brought him succours. Lysimachus engaged too rashly against Scuthas the Thracian; but as his numbers were small, they were worsted, though they behaved themselves gallantly. Perdiccas made war against Ariarathes king of Cappadocia (because he refused to receive the commands of Eumenes, who was appointed their governor); and having overcome him in two battles, and taken him prisoner, he hanged him, and restored Eumenes to his government. Craterus having led some auxiliary forces to assist Antipater against Greece, was the cause of that victory over the Grecians; for which reason they received the commands of either of them, and obeyed their orders without scruple. These particulars are contained in the first five books.

In his sixth book, he acquaints us how Demo-

Thrace, and the Pontic countries bordering thereupon. (Curtius, Diodorus, Cedrenus.) Dexippus, in Eusebius, tells us, it was the country on the right hand, as one sailed on the Euxine Sea; but the same author in Photius gives him Thrace and Cherronesus; and Arrian here adds the whole tract as far as Salmydessus, on the Euxine Sea. He was after taken prisoner by Seuthas, a king over one of the free nations there, (Pluarch, Apophtheym. cap. 49,) but not slain, as the word $\varkappa \eta_0 \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\theta} \eta$, in Arrian, seems to intimate; for we have frequent mention of him afterwards, and he was one of the five who shared the best part of Alexander's empire among them.

sthenes and Hyperides, Athenians; with Aristonicus the Marathonian, and Himaræus the brother of Demetrius, the Phalarean, fled, and arrived first at Ægina, where while they continued, the Athenians condemned them to death, at the request of Demades; and Antipater took care to have the decree put in execution. Then he relates how Archias the Thurian, who put them to death, died himself in the utmost indigence and infamy, and how Demades was shortly after conveyed into Macedonia, and slain by Cassander, his son being first stabbed in his father's Cassander alleged, that this Demades had formerly injured his father, when he wrote to Perdiccas to save the Grecian states, who were only bound together by an old rotten thread, meaning thereby to expose Antipater: that Dinarchus the Corinthian was the discloser of these things, and Demades, who had been formerly guilty of avarice, as well as treason and treachery of all sorts, received the due reward of his works. He also assures us, that Thibro the Lacedæmonian slew Harpalus (who, while Alexander was yet alive, had stolen his treasures, and fled away to Athens), and having seized all the money he had then left, escaped first to Cydonia, a city of Crete, and afterwards, with six thousand men under his command, passed over to Cyrene, where he was encountered by the Cyrenean and Barcean exiles, and where, after divers skirmishes and many ambuscades, having sometimes the better and sometimes the worse, he was at last seized in his flight by some Libyan waggoners, and conveyed to Epicydes the Olynthian, at Teucheira; which city Ophellas, a Macedonian, who had been sent to assist the Cyreneans by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, had committed to his care. Whereupon the Teucheireans, by Ophellas's permission, scourged Thibro first, and then sent him away to be hung up upon a cross at the port of Cyrene. However, when the Cyreneans still persisted in their rebellion, Ptolemy himself approached at

last, and having pacified all the troubles there, re-

turned home again.

Perdiccas designing treachery against Antigonus, cited him to appear; but he being apprised of the mischief, refused to obey the summons; and hence arose enmity between them. About this time, Jollas and Archias came to Perdiccas from Macedonia, having brought Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, to him for his wife. Olympias also, the mother of Alexander the Great, sent to him to take her daughter Cleopatra. Eumenes the Cardian persuaded him to accept of Cleopatra; but by the advice of his brother Alcetas, he was rather inclined to marry Nicæa, which he accordingly did. A few days after which, happened the murder of Cynane, whom Perdiccas and his brother Alcetas caused to be put to death.

This Cynane was a daughter of Philip king of Macedon, by his wife Eurydice, and wife to that Amyntas which Alexander had put to death immediately before he undertook his expedition into Asia. That same Amyntas was the son of Perdiccas, Philip's brother, and cousin-german to Alexander. Now Cynane had brought her daughter Adea (who afterwards assumed the name of Eurydice), with a design of marrying her to Aridæus, (which was afterwards performed, Perdiccas himself being active in the affair,) that by that means an insurrection, which was then raised in Macedonia on account of Cynane's death, might be appeased; but it produced a quite contrary effect. In the mean while, Antigonus fled into Macedonia, to Antipater and Craterus; and not only laid open the whole story of the treachery which Perdiccas had intended against him, but protested that he designed the same mischief against them all. He also proceeded to paint forth the murder of Cynane in such dismal colours, that he induced them to declare war against Perdiccas.

Aridæus, who had the body of Alexander in his

custody, conveyed it, in spite of Perdiccas, from Babylon, through Damascus, to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, into Ægypt; and though he was attacked several times upon the road by Polemon, one of Perdiccas's friends, yet he came safe at last to his jour-

nev's end.

In the mean while, Eumenes brought presents from Perdiccas to Cleopatra, who was then at Sardis; for Perdiccas was resolved to put away Nicæa, and marry Cleopatra in her stead. Which resolution of his was no sooner known (for Menander the governor of Lydia signified it to Antigonus, and he gave notice thereof to Antipater and Craterus), but they were the more instigated to prosecute the war against him. Whereupon Antipater and Craterus moved forward to the Cherronese, where they passed the Hellespont, having deceived the guards by messengers sent on purpose. They also dispatched ambassadors to Eumenes and Neoptolemus, who were of Perdiccas's party, with whom Neoptolemus agreed, but Eumenes refused his assent.

Hence Neoptolemus fell under the suspicion of Eumenes, so that they waged war with each other: and a battle ensuing, Eumenes was victor; whereupon Neoptolemus, with a few followers, fled to Antipater and Craterus; whom he wrought so far upon, that Craterus consented to join his forces with his, in a war against Eumenes: and accordingly a sharp battle was soon after fought. Eumenes used all his endeavours, before this fight, that his men should not know that Craterus fought against him; for fear lest the fame of his great actions should either induce them to desert their present camp and go over to him, or, if they tarried, should damp their valour. However, his extraordinary caution had its desired effect, for here he was also victor. Neoptolemus fell by Eumenes's own hand in this action: he was a stout soldier, and a brave commander. And Craterus, (notwithstanding he fought courageously against

all who opposed him, and advanced boldly on purpose to make himself known,) was slain by some Paphlagonian soldiers before he was known, though he had thrown off his head-piece to show his face. However, the infantry escaped out of the battle, and returned safe to Antipater; which accident lessened

his fear, and gave him fresh courage.

Perdiccas, taking his route from Damascus, with a design of making war against Ptolemy the son of Lagus, advanced into Ægypt, with the captains and the forces under his command, where he laid many crimes to Ptolemy's charge; but he cleared himself so well before the multitude, of all that was objected against him, that his accusation appeared ill-grounded and unjust. However, Perdiccas was resolved to prosecute the war, though his troops were averse to Here he was routed; and having used those too severely whom he perceived inclinable to go over to Ptolemy, and behaved himself more haughtily than became him as a general in his camp, he was slain by his own cavalry during the heat of the battle. Perdiccas was no sooner taken off, than Ptolemy passed the Nile, and presented the captains with various gifts, and complimented and embraced not only them, but the other Macedonian nobility, in a familiar and friendly manner: yea, he showed an open grief for the hard fate of the very friends of Perdiccas: and when some of the Macedonians showed themselves fearful, he used all his arts and endeavours to dissipate their fears; by which means his praise was in every body's mouth, not only then but ever after.

Then, in a full convention, Python and Aridæus were declared, for the present, commanders-in-chief of the forces, instead of Perdiccas, and about fifty of the adherents of Eumenes and Alcetas condemned on account of Craterus's death, while the Macedonians were engaged in battle against each other. Antigonus was about this time called out of Cyprus, and Antipater ordered to hasten to the kings. But

while they delayed their coming, Eurydice would not suffer Python nor Arideus to act any thing without her consent. This they bore patiently for some time, but at last assured her plainly, that she had no business to concern herself with the affairs of the state, for they would take the administration upon themselves, till Antigonus and Antipater arrived:—when they came, the chief authority was committed to

Antipater.

The army then requiring the military stipends which had been promised them by Alexander, Antipater (as he was unable to satisfy them) assured them, their requests were justly grounded; and as he was not willing to incur their displeasure, he would use his utmost endeavours that the royal treasury, as well as other places where riches were concealed, should be searched to satisfy them. However, this speech of his was so ill relished by the army, that when Eurydice also began to listen to accusations against him, the soldiery were in a rage, and an insurrection ensued: whereupon she made an oration against him, which Asclepiodorus the scribe took care to record, and Attalus also joined with her, insomuch that Antipater hardly escaped with life, and had certainly been slain, had not Antigonus and Seleucus, whose aid he had requested, taken his part among the enraged multitude; and the saving his life had like to have cost them theirs. However, Antipater having thus escaped death, hasted to his own army, where he called the chief commanders of the horse before him, who obeyed his summons; and the insurrection being just quelled, they reinstated him in his former post, and committed the chief management of affairs into his hands.

Then and there he made a new division of Asia, wherein he partly confirmed the former and partly annulled it, according as the exigency of affairs required. For, in the first place, Ægypt with Libya, and all the vast waste beyond it, and whatever else

had been acquired to the westward, he assigned to Ptolemy; Syria to Laomedon the Mitylenæan; Cilicia to Philoxenus,* for he held it before. Among the higher provinces, Mesopotamia and Arbelitis were bestowed on Amphimachus,† the king's brother; Babylonia, on Seleucus: ‡ the prefecture of

* All authors, except Arrian, confound these two divisions of the provinces, and not one of them makes the least mention. of any distribution which Antipater made. It is true, he confirmed most of those whom Perdiccas had preferred before: but however, many of them had been cut off in the interim; and the few which he displaced caused a considerable difference between the two divisions, as is apparent by comparing Arrian, lib. i. with Arrian, lib. ix. I should never have suspected there. had been any mistake in this name of Philoxenus, (because Justin mentions him as deputed governor over Cilicia, lib. xiii. cap. 6, and Plutarch and Arrian both remember him,) did not Arrian tell us expressly here, that he had Cilicia before. Now when this could be, I know not. Alexander never bestowed it upon him during his life, and Perdiccas gave it to Philotas; for which reason, I imagine, Antipater confirmed Perdiccas's choice, and only sent Philotas back to his government.

† Mesopotamia was first given to Arcesilaus (Diodorus, Cedrenus, and Justin). Dexippus calls him Archelaus; and Orosius, Arcelaus; so that it is very probable it might be Archelaus the son of Androcles, mentioned by Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 29, or Archelaus the son of Theodorus, lib. iii. cap. 16. Amphimachus succeeded him; and Blitor, by the appointment of Antigonus, succeeded Amphimachus, but at last it fell under the jurisdiction of

Seleucus.

† Seleucus the son of Antiochus, (Justin, lib. xv. cap. 4,) enjoyed Syria and Babylon. (Cedrenus, the Additions to Eusebius. Dexippus, the barbarous Latin chronologer, Appian.) This, Arrian and Diodorus assure us, happened not till the second division: though L. Ampelius mistakes it for the first; and undoubtedly Archon had the government of the province of Babylon granted him by Perdiccas. And in this division he was promoted to the command of the cavalry of the allies, a post of the highest honour, which Hephæstion first held, and after him Perdiccas. Appian calls him general of the horse of the allies, and so does Diodorus, (See also Dexippus and Arrian,) for which reason Justin calls his office the chief tribuneship of the camp. Beginning thus with Babylon, he afterwards held the kingdom of Persis, and enlarged the bounds of his empire wonderfully; so that he reigned over more nations than any other of Alexander's generals. Marcell. lib. xiv. cap. 26. Appian in Syriac.

all the province of Susa, on Antigenes,* who was captain of the Macedonian Argyraspidæ, and had first opposed Perdiccas. Peucestes † was confirmed in his government of Persis. Tlepolemus ‡ in Carmania, and Pithon in that of Media, as far as the Philip § in Parthia. Stasan-Caspian Streights.

* Antigenes, as the reward of his services, had the prefecture of the province of Susa conferred upon him by Antipater. Diodorus has committed an evident mistake, lib. xviii. 39, by calling him Antigonus. And Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 14, 15, has been guilty of the same. Diodorus speaks of his province. lib. xviii. 62. That he was a Pellenæan may be gathered from Plutarch, de Fortund Alexandri, 11, 15, and 16. Unless perhaps

it ought to be read Pellæan.

+ Peucestes the son of Alexander, the Miezæan (Arrian. Indic. cap. 18,) was constituted governor of Persis by Alexander the Great, (Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 30,) and continued in his province (Diodorus, Justin amended). The barbarous Latin chronologer tells us, that he (Perdiccas) bestowed all Persis upon Pexus. Antipater, in his division, confirmed him in the government. Some pretend that Tripolemus (by whom they seem to aim at Tlepolemus) was nominated to this province; but they are mistaken, for he was promoted to Carmania. The whole at last fell into the hands of Seleucus, with all the countries round it.

† Tlepolemus the son of Pythophanes was promoted to the government of Carmania by Alexander. (Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 27.) Wherefore Cedrenus is in an error, in attributing Persis to him, by the name of Tripolemus, though he copied the Eusebian additions. That Carmania was bestowed upon him by Perdiccas, is manifest from Diodorus. The barbarous Latin chronologer assigns Germania (Carmania) to Tripolemus (Tlepolemus). And Dexippus gives it to Neoptolemus; but that both these names are corrupt, is evident from what has been already said; as also from this passage in Arrian and Diodorus, lib. xviii. 34, who there assures us, that this province was confirmed to him by Antipater. However, he is also called Palemon by the same author, lib. xix. cap. 14. And to confess the truth, it is difficult to distinguish this Carmania of Tlepolemus from Armenia, which was assigned to Neoptolemus, the names of these two men and their governments being so apt to be confounded by their likeness in sound. This province was afterwards seized by Seleucus.

§ The government of Parthia was, by Alexander, first committed to Phrataphernes, who held it under Darius, (Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 8,) and was afterwards bestowed upon this Philip, by Antipater. Cedrenus tells us, that Philip was set over the Drangæ, and he copied after the Eusebian additions. Diodorus der * in that of the Arii and Drangee. Stasanor † the Solian, over Bactria and Sogdia; and Sybirtius ‡ over the Arachoti. The country of the Parapamisans was bestowed upon Oxyartes, § the father of Roxane; and

assigns Bactria and Sogdia to him. The barbarous Latin chroneloger calls him Philip the Less; and says, Perdiccas bestowed
the government of Togidiana (Sogdiana) upon him; and Dexippus and Justin agree with him, if you read,—Philip received Sogdia, Stagnor Parthia, and Phrataphernes Hyrcania; which reading will be a means of reconciling him as well with other authors
as himself. But if we rather choose to join the Parthians with
Philip, then it must be understood of the latter division made
here by Antipater. This whole province fell at last into the
power of Seleucus.

* Stasander the Cyprian obtained Aria and Drangiana from Antipater, in the second division. *Diodorus*, lib. xix. 14. Arrian tells us, this was only a confirmation of his commission, for he

held them before.

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† Stasanor of Soli, a city in the same island, (Diodorus, Dexippus, Justin,) afterwards received Bactria and Sogdia. (Diodorus.) The barbarous Latin chronologer obtrudes Arabia upon us instead of Aria, and tells us that Perdiccas gave all Arabia to Stasanor. However, after all, I am apt to suspect that the former name of Stasander is a corruption, and ought to be Stasanor; for that he was made governor there by Alexander himself in the room of Arsames, is evident from Arrian, lib. iv. p. 253. Blancard. and lib. vi. cap. 27. So that they may perhaps both be the same person, though they are thus distinguished by Arrian and Diodorus. The names are so near alike, and the countries being the same, besides their provinces bordering upon each other, and their being appointed to succeed each other, induce me to suspect them to be the same, notwithstanding Freinshemios's opinion to the contrary.

1 Sibyrtius (whom Diedoras, lib. xix. 14, calls Sibyrtius) gained the provinces of Arachosia and Gadrosia. (Diodorus, Dexippus, Justin.) The barbarous Latin chronologer tells us, he ordered Sabartus to govern Arachusia and Cedrusiæ. Antipater confirmed him in his government. (Arrian, lib. ix.) Antigonus gave him the command of the Argyraspidæ, who had betrayed Eumenes. (Phwarch, Eumen. cap. 34.) Justin, indeed, calls him Ibyrtius; but Bongarsius assures us we ought to read Sibyrtius in that place. Beth these provinces afterwards fell into the hands

of Seleucus.

§ Oxyartes or Oxathres, the Bactrian, father-in-law to Alexander, obtained Bactriana, according to the additions of Embebius and Cedrenus. The Parapathicans, according to Diodorus, lib. nix. 14, who makes him king of the Bactrians. The barthe skirts of India adjacent to Mount Parapamisus, on Pithon * the son of Agenor. As to the countries beyond that, those on the river Indus, with the city Pattala (the capital of that part of India) were assigned to Porus.† Those upon the Hydaspes, to Taxiles ‡ the Indian; for it was deemed no easy

barous Latin chronologer tells us, he ordered Oxydarcus to reign ever Parapamisodus. Dexippus, Arrian, and Justin agree, if you read—Oxyartes received the Parapamisadse, which border upon Mount Caucasus; and this Bongarsius perceived from Diodorus. He seems to have been afterwards driven out of his dominions by Sandracottus.

* Pithon the son of Agenor, (which name is often written Python,) of whom the barbarous Latin chronologer says, he ordered, that that part of India, which lies between the river Indus and Hydaspes, should be governed by Python. This may be understood from Dexippus. One Pithon, says he, (the son of Agenor, for he had spoken of the son of Crateas before,) ruled over the countries adjacent to them (Porus and Taxiles), except the Parapamisans. (Justin, Orosius.) Pithon the son of Agenor was sent to the Indian colonies; in which passage Justin confounds him with the other Pithon. Antipater confirmed him in his province, Alexander had first bestowed it upon him. Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 15. It is very likely that Sandracottus seized also upon his territories, as he did upon those of Oxyartes.

† Porus retained his own kingdom. Justin; Orosius obscurely; but Dexippus expressly. Arrian here assigns the reason why no alterations were made in the provinces of India, namely, because they were not able to dispossess the old governors, if they would; so that after Alexander's death, the Macedonians, in effect, lost all power there. Diodorus, lib. xviii. 39, agrees

with Arrian.

‡ Taxiles retained his sovereignty as well as Porus. Howbeit, I cannot here pass by what seems to me an error in Arrian; or rather in Photius, or the transcribers, or perhaps the editors; for it is here said, "Those countries upon the river Indus, with the city Pattala, were assigned to Porus; and the countries upon the Hydaspes to Taxiles the Indian." Whereas, the very reverse was true, because Porus's own dominions lay between the Hydaspes and Acesines, and the territories of the other Porus, which Alexander bestowed upon him, lay between the Acesines and Hydraotes; and the country of Taxiles, between the Indus and Hydaspes. Perhaps the whole error lies only in misplacing two words, and it ought to be read, "Those countries upon the river Indus, with the city Pattala, were assigned to Taxiles; and those upon the Hydaspes, to Porus the Indian." That it was so in fact, is certain; for neither Perdiccas nor Antipater made any altera-

matter to dispossess those who had been confirmed in their territories by Alexander himself, their power was grown so strong. Of the countries to the northward of Mount Taurus; Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor;* the Greater Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, as before, to Antigonus. Caria to Asander;† Lydia to Clitus;‡ and the Phrygia along the Hellespont, to Aridæus.§ Antigenes was deputed collector of the tribute in the province of Susa, and three thousand of those Macedonians who were

tions in the Indian governments; and the reason which Arrian assigns for it, is a substantial one: Because, says he, they could not if they would; and though Alexander added a little to Taxiles his territories, and a vast deal to those of Porus, yet they each kept their old dominions, besides the new ones assigned them.

* The province of Cappadocia was first bestowed upon Eumenes, and conquered for him by Perdiccas. Some time after which, Eumenes was proclaimed an enemy, and Nicanor substituted by Antipater to succeed him. (See also *Diodor*. lib. xviii. 39, and *Appian de Bello Mithrid*.) It came at last into the possession of Seleucus.

† I have already taken notice that this is no more than a corruption, and that it ought to be Cassander. He was the son of Antipater. Perdiccas bestowed this province upon him; and his father, in his second division, confirmed him in it. See the ob-

servations upon Cassander, p. 263.

† Clitus obtained Lydia from Antipater. Diodorus, 18, 39. This can be no other than that proud spark, whom Plutarch gives us an account of in his Treatise, De Fortuna Alexandri, 11, 12; nad Justin, lib. 13, 6, 16, confirms it, when he says, The care of the fleet was committed to Clitus: for then he gained the naval victory, which both Plutarch and Justin take notice of. Vid. Diodor. 18, 72. Antigonus at last expelled Clitus, and seized upon it himself.

§ This was not Aridæus the king, but another of the same name. See the observations at *Leonnatus*, p. 264. And here we must not forget to acquaint our readers, that the greatest part of all these separate provinces were, in a short time, swallowed up in a few large kingdoms: as that of Macedonia held by Antipater; Asia by Antigonus; Ægypt by Ptolemy; Syria by Seleucus; Thrace by Lysimachus; and India by Sandracottus. These far exceeded all their fellow-soldiers, both in power and the length of their lives. The truth is, they cut most of the rest off, and seized upon their territories, and thereby augmented their own.

the most ready to mutiny, appointed to attend him. Moreover, he nominated Autolychus the son of Agathocles; Amyntas the son of Alexander, and brother of Peucestas; Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy; and Alexander the son of Polysperchon, the guards to surround the king's person. To his son Cassander he gave the command of the horse; to Antigonus, those troops which had been before assigned to Perdiccas, and the care and custody of the king's person, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Which done, Antipater himself departed home, much applauded by all, for his wise and prudent management.—And this concludes the ninth book.

His tenth gives us an account how Eumenes having received intelligence of what had befallen Perdiccas, and that he was declared an enemy by the Macedonians, made all the necessary preparations for a war: and how Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas. on that very account, had fled to him for shelter: and Attalus, who had been one of the ringleaders of the revolt from Antipater, came and joined with these exiles; so that they at length raised an army of about ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse, with which forces they first invaded Cnydos, Caunus, and Rhodes; but the Rhodians under the command of Demaratus, the admiral of their fleet, repulsed He then informs us, that Antipater, when he marched to Sardis, was on the very point of coming to blows with Eumenes. But Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great, by her entreaties, wrought upon Eumenes to depart out of the city; for she was afraid that the common people in Macedonia should imagine that she was the occasion of a battle between them, if any should happen. Howbeit, when Antipater arrived, he threatened her, and loaded her with many reproaches for her friendship and familiarity with Eumenes and Perdiccas. He then adds, that she defended herself bravely, and beyond what could be expected from one of her sex; and not only answered his objections against her, but laid a fresh number of crimes to his charge. However, at last. they parted perfectly reconciled. Then he acquaints us how Eumenes, having made a sudden irruption into his enemy's country, took much spoil, with a vast quantity of silver, wherewith he exceedingly enriched his followers; as also, how he dispatched messengers to Alcetas and his friends, to draw all their forces together, that they might thereby be able to make head against the common enemy. But they having contrary sentiments, refused to come into his measures. He adds, that Antipater durst not yet pretend to engage with Eumenes, but dispatched Asander* to fight with Attalus and Alcetas. Their forces were pretty nigh equal, but Asander was obliged to retire That Cassander had hitherto been at difference with Antigonus; but upon the injunction of his father Antipater, he laid aside all former grudges. How Cassander meeting his father afterwards in Phrygia, advised him not to keep at too great distance from the kings, and especially to have a watchful eye upon Antigonus. But he, by his well-timed prudence, his courtly complaisance, and other virtues, entirely took away all suspicion of guilt; whereupon Antipater being perfectly appeased, and wholly reconciled to him, committed those forces which he had conveyed into Asia, consisting of eight thousand five hundred Macedonian foot, and the same number of foreign horse, to his charge; as also half the elephants (which was seventy) to enable him to push on the war against Eumenes: and thus, he assures us, Antigonus began the war. Antipater then taking with him the two kings, and the rest of the forces, made a feint, as though he would have passed over into Macedonia, but the army again mutinied, and demanded their arrears; whereupon Antipater promised, that when

^{*} This ought undoubtedly to be Cassander, and so this name is to be read both before and after this place.

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he came to Abydus, he would take care to satisfy them, by paying them the whole, or at least the greatest part thereof. They were cajoled with these fair promises, and marched forward quietly to Abydus; from whence he, with the two kings, having deceived his soldiers, passed over the Hellespont by night to Lysimachus: and the army passed it the next day, being pretty quiet for the present, as to the payment of their arrears. And thus ends his tenth book.

Photius then adds a fine character of Arrian and his writings, which I have inserted in the Preface, and for that reason shall not repeat it here.

RADERUS'S TABLES

OF THE

DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE

, AMONG

ALEXANDER'S FOLLOWERS, AFTER HIS DEATH.

The authors who have treated upon this subject, are Diodorus Siculus, in his eighteenth book; Dexippus, and Arrian, in Photius; Justin, at the close of his thirteenth book; and Orosius, in the last chapter of his third book. We have also the Prophecies of Daniel, and some particulars towards the beginning of the Maccabees. These we have placed in tables, that every thing may appear more plain and evident. This method Andreas Schottus first took, and published tables in his translation of Photius; and what he has omitted, we shall add, beginning with Arrian; next proceeding to those of Q. Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Dexippus, Justin, Orosius, &c.

The Division of the Provinces of Alexander's Empire by Perdiccas, according to Arrian, in Photius, lib. xcii.

When the infantry and cavalry came to an agreement, Aridæus was declared king, by the name of Philip; and Alexander, the son of Roxane, his copartner in the empire.

Antipater was appointed general of the army in Europe.

Craterus, protector of Aridæus's kingdom.

Perdiccas, captain-general of the forces, in the room of Hephæstion.

Ptolemy the son of Lagus Cleomenes Laomedon Philotas Pithon the son of Crateas Eumenes the Cardian

Antigonus

Cassander Menander Leonnatus Ægypt, Libya, and the parts of Arabia contiguous to Ægypt. As deputy to Ptolemy. Syria.

was ordered to govern Cilicia. Media.

Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the countries along the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus. Pamphylia, Lycia, and the Greater Phrygia. Caria. Lydia. Phrygia along the Hellespont.

And thus was Asia divided among them,

had the government of

In Europe.

Lysimachus

Craterus and Antipater

Thrace, the Cherronese, and all the countries adjacent to Thrace, as far as Salmydessus upon the Euxine Sea.

Allthe countries beyond Thrace, with the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians; as also Macedonia, and Epirus, as far as the Ceraunian mountains;

and all Greece.

The other Division of the Provinces, by Antipater, from Arrian, lib. ix. in Photius.

Ptolemy

Laomedon
Philoxenus *
Amphimachus
Seleucus
Antigenes

Peucestes
Tlepolemus
Pithon the son
of Crateas
Philip
Stasander †
Stasanor
Sybirtius
Oxyartes father
to Roxane
Pithon the son
of Agenor
Porus the Indian †

Rgypt, Libya, and all the waste countries beyond them, to the westward.

Syrie. Cilicia.

Mesopotamia and Arbelitis.

Babylonia.

Susiana; and collector of the tributes of that province.

Persis.

governor

vas constituted

Carmania.

Media, as far as the Caspian Streights.

Parthia.

Aria and Drangiana.

Bactria and Sogdia.

Arachosia.

The Parapamisans.

The Indians adjacent to Parapamisus.

The countries upon the river Indus, with the city Pattala.

Philoxenus is mentioned twice or thrice by Arrian in the body of his work; as also by Plutarch: however, I fancy it is an error here, and ought to be Philotas.

, † I must needs say, I do not approve of the name of Stasander here, because it is altogether unknown, and I can think it nothing but a corruption. I had therefore much rather here adhere to Diodorus, who gives Aria and Drangiana to Stasanor, and Bactria and Sogdia to Philip.

‡ This must be an error here, as well as in Dexippus. The countries between the Hydaspes and Acesines were Porus's own dominions, and Alexander gave him those between the Acesines

Taxiles the In-The countries upon the river governor Hydaspes. dian Cappadocia. Nicanor The Greater Phrygia, Lycao-Antigonus nia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, as before. Asander ' Caria. Clitus Lvdia. Aridæus Phrygia along the Hellespont.

Autolycus † the son of Agathocles,
Amyntas, the son of Alexander and brother of Peucestes,
Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy,
Alexander the son of Polysperchon,

were appointed the king's body-guards.

Cassander the son of Antipater Antigonus The command of the horse.

The command of the forces, in the room of Perdiccas, and the king's guards.

and Hydraotis, which belonged to the other Porus; but the countries upon the river Indus, were the hereditary dominions of Taxiles. This is confirmed by Diodorus, Justin, and Orosius.

* This is an error, and should be Cassander. Arrian indeed mentions one Asander several times in his work, but he has nothing to do here.

† The names of few or none of these are mentioned by any other author, and much less their employments.

The Distribution of the Provinces according to Curtius, lib. x.

The king*
Ptolemy

Laomedon Philotas Antigonus

Cassander Menander Leonnatus

Eumenes

Pithon Lysimachus

Perdiccas

The supreme command.

Ægypt, with all the countries of Africa which were subdued. Syria and Phœnicia.

Cilicia.

Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia.

Caria.

Lydia.

Phrygia the Lesser, upon the Hellespont.

Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, as far as Trapezus.

Media.

Thrace, with the Pontic nations

adjacent thereto.

The chief command of the forces which attended the king.

The Partition of the Provinces according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. xviii. p. 587.

The Macedonians, says he, having chosen Meleager their general, advanced against those who opposed their measures. And when the king's guards marched out of Babylon, and made preparations to attack them, they who were the most popular among

* The division of Curtius is short and sweet. He has given us the names and governments of about a dozen of Alexander's chief officers; and this may be said of him here, which can scarce safely be said any where else, that (setting aside his omissions) he has not committed so much as one error in twelve lines.

both parties, persuaded them to come to an accommodation. And accordingly they chose Aridæus the son of Philip, (who also assumed the name of Philip,) their king; and Perdiccas (on whom Alexander had bestowed his ring at his death), administrator of the kingdom: and ordered Alexander's chief friends and captains to take upon them the government of provinces, and yield obedience to the king and Perdiccas. He (Perdiccas) having obtained the supreme power, called a council of the chief officers, and distributed the empire as follows:—

Aridæus was king.

To Ptolemy,
Python,
Eumenes,

Antigonus,
Cassander,
Meleager,*
Leonnatus,

To Lysimachus,
Antipater,

Antipater,

Antipater,

Ameleager,*

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Antipater,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

Antipater,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

Antipater,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

Antipater,

Ameleager,

Ameleager,

In Europe he gave

Antipater,

Ameleager,

Ameleager,

Ameleager,

Ameleager,

Antipater,

Ameleager,

To the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in Asia; and first,

To Oxyartes, father-in-law to
Alexander,
Sybirtius,

Caucasus, and the Parapamisans.

Arachosia and Gedrosia.

^{*} This is certainly a mistake, and ought to be Menander; for Meleager was dead before the division.

To Stasanor the Solian,
Philip the pretor,
Phrataphernes,
Peucestes,
Tlepolemus,
Atropas,*
Archon
Arcesilaus,
Seleucus,

Taxiles and Porus,

Aria and Drangiana.

Bactria and Sogdia.

Parthia and Hyrcania. Persis.

Carmania.

Media.

Babylonia.

Mesopotamia.

The command of the royal cavalry, which Hephæstion had first, and Perdiccas afterwards.

Each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by Alexander.

The king kept Perdiccas with him, and constituted him captain of the guards and the forces which attended him.

The Division of the Macedonian Empire by Perdiccas, according to Dexippus, in Photius, lib. lxxxii.

Cléomenes,

Laomedon the
Mitylenean,

Ptolemy,

Philotas, Phiton,† Ægypt, with Libys, and all the countries beyond Ægypt westward.

The vicegerency, or deputyship, under Ptolemy.

Syria.

Cilicia. Media

^{*} It ought to be Atropates. See the Notes upon Arrian at the word Pithon.

[†] This is a transposition of letters: it ought to be Pithon.

Eumenes.

Antigonus,

Asander, Menander, Leonnatus,

Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and all the countries along the EuxineSea, as far as Trapezus.

Pamphylia and Cilicia, as far as Phrygia.

Caria. Lydia.

Phrygia along the Hellespont.

Lysimachus, Antipater,

Craterus,

Perdiccas.

Porus, †

Taxiles. The other Pithon,

Oxyartes the Bactrian, father to Roxane, Sybirtius, Stasanor the Solian. Philip, Rhadaphernes, ‡ Neoptolemus, § Peucestes, Oropias, Seleucus, Archelaus,

Thrace and the Cherronese. All the Macedonians, Greeks,

Illyrians, Triballi, Agrians, and all Epirus.

The office of guardian and governor to the king. .

The chief command of the forces. in the room of Hephæstion. The countries between the In-

dus and the Hydaspes.

The rest of India.

The nations adjacent to India, except the Parapamisans.

The inhabitants nigh Mount Caucasus, next to India.

The Arachosii and Gadrosii. The Arii and Drangæ.

The Sogdians. Hircania. Carmania. Persia.

Part of the Sogdians.

Babylonia. Mesopotamia.

* Cassander.

† See note ‡, p. 281.

† This is a corruption: it ought to be Phrataphernes.

§ This ought to be Tlepolemus. This name is wholly unknown.

Europe, obtained

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The Partition of the Macedonian Provinces, according to Justin, lib. xiii.

Ptolemy

Laomedon the
Mitylenean
Philotas and his
son
Atropatos
Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas *
Scynus †
Antigonus the
son of Philip
Nearchus ‡
Cassander

Menander

Leonnatus

Lysimachus

Eumenes
Seleucus the son
of Antiochus
Cassanderthe son
of Antipater
Taxiles

Ægypt, Africa, and part of Arabia.
Syria.

Cilicia and Illyricum.

Media the Greater. Media the Less.

Susiana.

Phrygia the Greater.

Lycia and Pamphylia. Caria.

Lvdia.

received from Perdiccas the government

Phrygia the Less.

Thrace, and the countries adjacent to the Pontic Sea.

Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

The chief command of the forces.

The command of the king's guards.

The countries between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes.

 Most other authors give this to Python; however, Atropates held his share. We read nothing elsewhere of any particular government assigned to Alcetas.

† This is a name altogether unknown. I fancy it is a corruption of the last part of Antigenes, who was really governor of

that province.

† Most other authors give all these three provinces to Antigonus, and leave Nearchus out.

Pithon the son of Agenor Parapomenus ?

Extarches † Statanor & Amyntas ¶ Scythæus ** Nicanor Philip Phrataphernes Tlepolemus † † Peucestes ‡‡ Archos 翁 Archesilaus

The colonies settled in India.

The borderers on Mount Caucasus.

received from Perdiccas the government The Drancæ. ‡ The Argæans. The Bactrians. The Sogdians. The Parthians.

The Hyrcanians.

The Armenians. The Persæ.

The Babylonians.

The Pelasgæ. Mesopotamia.

This is a base error. The Parapameni, as they are sometimes called, or the province towards the foot of Mount Parapamisus, was given to Oxyartes.

† This is as bad a fault as the other: it should be Oxyartes. This ought to be Dranga; but he was not appointed their governor.

§ Stasanor.

This perhaps ought to be the Arachosians.

This was Amyntas the son of Nicolaus. Curtius mentions him as appointed pretor of Sogdia, lib. viii. 2, 14. as governor of Bactria, lib. iv. cap. 22.

** This is certainly a corruption; for none of Alexander's cap-

tains were called by that name.

†† Tlepolemus was never appointed governor of Persia. ‡‡ Peucestes was deputed to govern Persis, not Babylonia.

§§ This "Archos Pelasgas" is an error in Justin, and Orosius has copied it from him, as he does almost every thing else; it ought to be "Archon Pellæus Babylonios." However, Freinshemius has corrected many of these errors, (though against all authority of manuscripts,) by making it "Sogdianos Philippus, Staganor Parthos, Hyrcanos Prataphernes, Armenios Tlepolemus, Persas Peu-cestes, Babylonios Archon Pellæus." This correction, if it may be allowed, will reconcile Justin indifferently well with other authors.

The Division of the Provinces of the Macedonian Empire, according to Orosius, lib. iii. cap. ult.

Alexander, says he, in twelve years brought the trembling world under subjection, by dint of sword; and his princes, for the space of fourteen years more, harassed it, like ravenous whelps tearing in pieces the prey, which had been seized by the mighty lion; and their covetousness of the spoil causing them to quarrel, they mangled and devoured each other. Then he proceeds to the distribution as follows:—

Ptolemy

Laomedon
Philotas
Philo *
Atropatus †
The father-inlaw of Perdiccas ‡
Scynus §
Antigonus the
son of Philip,
Nearchus ||
Cassander
Menander
Leonnatus
Lysimachus

Ægypt, with part of Africa and Arabia.
Syria, bordering thereupon.
Cilicia.
The Illyrians.
Media the Greater.
Media the Less.

Susiana. Phrygia the Greater.

Lycia and Pamphylia.
Caria.
Lydia.
Phrygia the Less.
Thrace, and the countries along the Pontic Sea.

* This is an error in Orosius: Illyria was undoubtedly assigned to Antipater, and Philo is a name unknown.

† Atropates.

§ See note †, p. 287.

|| See note 1, p. 287.

[†] This was the same Atropates mentioned before. Alexander gave his daughter in marriage to Perdiccas. Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 4.

Eumenes
Seleucus the son
of Antiochus
Cassander the
son of Antipater

Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.
The chief command of the forces.
The command of the kine's

The command of the king's guards.

The governors of the Further Bactria and India continued in their provinces, as Alexander had left them.

Taxiles

Pithon Oxyartes

Syburtius
Stasanor
Amyntas
Scythæus *
Nicanor
Philip
Phrataphernes
Tlepolemus †
Peucestes ‡
Archon §
Arcelaus

The Seres, situated between the rivers Hydaspes and Indus. The colonies planted in India. The Parapameni, bordering upon Mount Caucasus. The Arachosii and Gedrosii. The Drangæ and Arei. The Bactrians. The Sogdians.

The Parthians.
The Hyrcanians.
The Armenians.
The Persians.
The Babylonians,
The Pelasgi.
Mesopotamia.

The First Book of the Maccabees expresses no certain number, only in chap. i. vers. 8, 9, it is said: "And his servants obtained dominion, every one in his place; and after his death, they all placed crowns upon their heads, as did their sons after them; and evils were multiplied upon the earth."

^{*} See note **, p. 288. ‡ See note ‡‡, p. 288.

[†] See note ††, p. 288. § See note §§, p. 288.

Daniel the prophet tells us in his eighth chapter, that the kingdom of the king of the Greeks was divided into four divisions; and still more fully in the same chapter, vers. 20, 21, 22: "The ram which thou sawest with two horns, is the king of Media and Persia; and the he-goat is the king of Græcia. The great horn between his eyes, is the first king; and forasmuch as when that was broke, four rose up for it, four kings shall rise up out of that nation, but not in his power." Which place St. Jerom, and from him N. Serarius, Cornelius de Lapide, and others after them, expound of the four chief kings and their kingdoms, viz. of Antigonus in Asia; Philip or Aridæus in Macedonia; Seleucus in Syria; and Ptolemy in Ægypt. However, St. Jerom seems to have borrowed this from Josephus, putting Aridæus for Cassander, his successor, and omitting Lysimachus.

A BRIEF

ACCOUNT OF ALL THE AUTHORS

WHO HAVE TOUCHED UPON THE

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

As the collating of authors, and comparing them with themselves and with one another, gives vast lights to history; I have thought it not altogether amiss, to add here an account of all the authors who have treated upon this subject. I have only given the bare names of those which have been printed, and are common; but have added the age, writings, and countries of the rest, as fully and clearly as my intended brevity would give me leave.

The first who attempted any thing of this nature was Johannes Loccenius, one of the commentators upon Curtius; but when he afterwards heard that the learned Gerhard. Johan. Vossius, in his account of the Greek and Latin historians, was upon a work of the same kind, he either left off his design, or at least refused to publish his collection; for this he tells us himself in his Annotations to Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21. The reader may see the full account, of which this is only an extract, in Voss. de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 10, and cap. 24. Some are also added from Reinesius's Epistle to Hoffman, p. 311; and others elsewhere.

Abrahamus Aben Phareg. Msuli. Raderus, in the fourth chapter of his Essay, assures us, that he compiled an History of Alexander the Great, in Arabic, a manuscript copy whereof is extant in the Bavarian

library.

Achmetes Molla, or Meulana Achmetes (which is the wise or learned Achmet) wrote a book of the acts of Alexander, in rhyming verse, and published it under the name of Æmir Suleiman, who rewarded him handsomely for his pains. See Leunclavius his Musulm. History, towards the conclusion of the tenth book. This may perhaps be the Turk mentioned towards the close of this account.

Ado, his Chronicle.

Adrian, the emperor, wrote an Alexandreid. See Stephan. in 'Αστραία and Σάνεια.

Ælian in his Various History.

Esopus. Iuretus quotes a manuscript under this name (which has never been published), in his Animadversions upon the Epistles of Symmachus, lib. iv. epist. 33. Julius Valerius translated it into Latin, of which afterwards. This is thought to be the fabulous history which is commonly known.

Agatharsides Cnidius wrote a body of history, the thirty-fifth book whereof Athenæus cites, lib. xii. cap. 6. He also compiled an history of Asia, which treated chiefly of Alexander's exploits there; the eighth book of which is cited by Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 14. And an history of Europe, the twentyeighth book of which is mentioned by the same author, lib. iv. cap. 19. He is also taken notice of by Ælian, in his History of Animals, v. 27, and 16, 27. And by Lucian, in Macrobiis. Plutarch in his Parallels, cap. 2, has transcribed a passage from the second book of the Persian History, wrote by Agatharsides Samius; but I can see no reason to imagine him the same person with Agatharsides Cuidius. as Gesner has done in his Bibliothec. Photius in his Bibliothec. has assured us, that this was a Cnidian. and by profession a teacher of grammar, as also clerk to Heraclides, and scholar to Cinæus: That he lived after the Mithridatic war, when the Roman affairs were in a flourishing condition, the aforesaid passage cited by Athenæus, lib. xii. 16, abundantly shows; for of them I understand his words towards the conclusion of the fiftieth chapter of his Excerpts. And that he lived before Trajan is certain, for he is quoted by Plutarch in his Sympos. 8, quest. 2. He wrote the History of Asia in ten books, and that of Europe in forty-nine, according to Photius; as also five books concerning the Red Sea, and whatever related to it, when he was grown into years. He is moreover said to have left behind him an abridgement of his account of the Red Sea, and five books concerning the Troglodytes; besides an epitome of Lyde, wrote by Antimachus; and an extract of the writings of those who had treated concerning winds; with a brief account of his conversation among his friends and familiars. Photius gives us an extraordinary character of him, and makes him equal with Thucydides, and in some cases his superior. He himself owned, that though he spoke in the Attic dialect, yet that of Camara (a city in Crete) was more familiar to him. See Photius, in his Excerpts, cod. 30, for some account of him is to be met with in Photius, cod. 250.

Agis. He wrote the acts of Alexander in verse, as may be easily gathered from Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 5, 8. Arrian also takes notice of him, lib. iv.

cap. 9.

Alexander, his Epistles. Some of them were extant a long time; for Pliny quotes them in his sixth book, and Plutarch in his seventeenth chapter. However, those which still remain, written to Aristotle, concerning the situation of India, with some others, are accounted spurious.

Alexander, his History. See Julius Valerius.

Alexander the Great, his 'Odorrogind's, is mentioned by Strabo.

Amyntianus. He wrote a treatise in praise of Alexander, which he dedicated to Marcus Antoninus the emperor; wherein he boasted, that his style should equal the other's exploits: but he was found at last to be no more than a vain empty pretender; for his work was weak and trifling, and far inferior to many who went before him; even in the elocution. This account Photius gives in his Bibliothec. c. 131. One Amyntianus, who wrote a treatise of elephants, is cited by the interpreter of Pindar; but whether he be the same with ours, I am not certain.

Anaximenes Lampsacenus. He wrote the ancient acts of the Grecians; as also of Philip, and his son Alexander. His country honoured him with an olymipic statue, because he appeased Alexander when he was incensed against their city, and threatened to See Pausan. lib. vi. who adds, that he also wrote a history, full of invectives against the Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Thebans, and published it under the feigned name of Theopompus, to turn their envy upon his enemy. The verses upon Alexander, which were ascribed to Anaximenes, Pausanias has assured us, were none of his. Dionysius in Isa, acquaints us, that he wrote histories and poems; that he attempted to treat of arts, and plead causes, but was weak in every thing, and unskilled in the art of persuasion. Atheneus, lib. xii. 6, cites a work of his, entitled, The Changes of Kings; and lib. vi. cap. 4, another called, The Grounds of History. See Josephus against Appion, lib. i. pag. 1051, D. and Scaliger's additions to Eusebius, num. MDCXCII. Some imagine him the author of that fabulous history. which is commonly known, Vincent Belluac. v. 39. Suidas calls him the son of Aristocles, the scholar of Diogenes the Cynic, and Zoilus the detractor of Homer, and preceptor to Alexander, whom he accompanied in his expedition. Plutarch also cites him in the third chapter of his first oration, concerning the fortune of Alexander.

Andronicus. That he was one of the writers of Alexander's acts, we are assured by Plutarch in Aristide.

Androsthenes Thasius sailed with Nearchus, and is reported to have published something relating to this History, Strabo, lib. xvi. His Indian Paraplus is cited by Athenaus, lib. iii. cap. 13.

Angelus Cospus Bononiensis translated the Life of Alexander, written by one Johannes, a monk, into Latin. This small Life is prefixed to the edition of Curtius, published at Basil, by Henricus Petrus,

anno 1545.

Anticlides is cited by Pliny, lib. iv. cap. 12, 30, and his seventy-eighth book of Reversions by Athenæus, ix. 8, who adds, that he was an Athenian, lib. x. cap. 4, and he quotes him in his Expositions, lib. xi. cap. 6. That he wrote an history of Alexander, is evident from Plutarch in his Life of Alexander. Suidas also takes notice of his treatise concerning Reversions; and Clemens Alexandrinus in his Admonition to the Gentiles: his History of Alexander is likewise quoted by Raphael Volaterranus.

Antidamus Heracleapolites. His History of Alexander the Great; as also his Treatises on Morality, are cited by Fulgentius in his Exposition of ancient Discourse, from whence we may learn that he wrote

in Latin.

Antigenes is mentioned by Plutarch among the writers of Alexander's history, and Volaterran takes notice of him on the same account, though perhaps he borrows it from Plutarch. One of that name is

also cited by Pliny in his sixth book.

Antisthenes. Volaterran assures us, that he wrote an Account of Alexander's Life and Actions. He seems to be that Rhodian whom Laertius mentions in his Life of Antisthenes the Philosopher. He is taken notice of by Pliny, lib. xxxvi. 12, in his Discourse of Obelisks; which subject Antisthenes might well touch upon, in his account of Ægypt conquered by Alexander.

Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, copied the fables concerning Alexander, from Julius Valerius.

Appion Alexandrinus, a Greek, who was surnamed Plistonices, wrote with a wonderful ease and eloquence. He was the author of a Treatise in Praise of Alexander, as Gellius informs us, lib. vi. 8. Tiberius Cæsar surnamed him the Cymbal of the World: but he ought rather to have called him the Trumpet of public Fame. Pliny in the preface to his Natural History, N. 36, tells us, That in the reign of Caius. Cæsar, his works were spread through all Greece. And Seneca, epist. 88, N. 56, in Nom. Homeri, assures us it was adopted by all cities. His fourth book of the History of Ægypt is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the first book of his Stromata; who also takes notice of his Treatise against the Jews, which Josephus refuted in two books. That he was a grammarian by profession, and a philosopher, is evident from Pliny, lib. xxx. cap. 2, 7, who saw him; and assures us, in the fifth chapter of the same book, that he was surnamed Plistonices. he mentions him elsewhere, in his Magics especially; as also Athenæus, in lib. vii. cap. 12, concerning the luxury of Apicius; and again, in his treatise concerning the Latin tongue, lib. xv. cap. 8. He also wrote histories of all nations, and a comment on Seneca seems to reproach him for his too earnest application to writing; and by reason of the numerous works which he published, Suidas tells us he was named $M \dot{\sigma}_{\chi} \theta \sigma_{\xi}$, or the Drudge.

Archelaus, a chorographer, who described all the countries through which Alexander travelled. Vid.

Laert. in Archelao.

Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus the Cassandrean. Arrian professes, in the preface to his History, that he chiefly chooses to copy from him, because he was a constant companion to Alexander, by whom he was ordered to oversee the repairs of

Cyrus's tomb, as Arrian acquaints us, lib. vi. cap. 30. They who confound him with Aristobulus the Jew, are in an error: for Atheneus, lib. xi. cap. 6, and lib. vi. 13; Lucian, in Macrobiis, and others, assure us he was a Cassandrean. Plutarch makes frequent use of his authority; as in Demosth. cap. 32; and the same does Strabo. Alexander threw a book of his into the Hydaspes, wherein was an account of the famous single combat between him and Porus, as Lucian assures us in his Treatise de Conscribenda Historia. See Vossius de Hist. Græc. 1. 10. Soiter, in dedic. Belli Pannonici.

Aristoxenus. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, takes notice of his Commentaries; but whether they treated much of Alexander, may be questioned from Athenaeus, lib. xiv. 2, for these seem only to have been some miscellaneous tracts. However, Suidas has left it upon record, that he wrote books of all sorts, to the number of 454.

Aristus Salaminius. He is cited by Atheneus, lib. x. cap. 10. That he was much later than Alexander's time, is evident from Strabo, lib. xv. and that he wrote an account of Alexander's acts, we are assured from Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 15.

Arrian the Nicomedian.

Arrianus Epopæus wrote an Alexandreid, or poem upon Alexander, in twenty-four books, according to Suidas.

Asclepiades. He is mentioned among the writers of this History by Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 15.

Athenæus.

Bæton, the surveyor of Alexander's marches, published a work entitled, The Several Stations of Alexander during his Expedition, as Athenæus assures us, lib. x. 12. He is also cited by Pliny, lib. vi. 17, who nevertheless calls him Biton.

Bixarus, Peter, in his Persian History.

Calinius Syrus, mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Aristides.

Callisthenes was carried abroad by Alexander himself, on purpose to write his history, Justin. lib. xiii. 6, 7, and afterwards put to death, Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 14, Plutarch, Curtius, lib. viii. 8, 21, &c. Raderus assures us, that the report of the excellency of Callisthenes's History, which is said to be still extant, is groundless; and that he easily found it out from the letters of Ducæus, whom he requested to transcribe him a little part thereof by way of specimen. And indeed from the very beginning of that spurious Callisthenes, which Ducœus transmitted to him, it appears to be a fabulous history; but we shall add more of this when we come to discourse of Julius Valerius. We have Cicero's judgment upon the style of Callisthenes, in his epistle to his brother Quintus, 11, 12.

Capellus, in his Sacred and Profane History from

Adam to Augustus Cæsar.

Carystius Pergamenus, wrote a book of historical commentaries, wherein he treated of Alexander's acts, as is evident from several passages which Athoneus has quoted from him, lib. x. 9; lib. xii. 15; lib. xiii. 8; lib. xv. 8.

Cedrenus. His work is still extant.

Cephaleon, whom Photius, lib. lxviii. calls the oppressor of his country. He wrote nine books, on which he bestowed the names of the Muses, towards the conclusion of which he treated upon the affairs of Alexander, as is evident from the fore-mentioned passage of Photius, as also from another in the same author, lib. cxli. Suidas assures us, that he flourished in the time of Adrian the emperor.

Chares Isangelus. He is mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander; whether the next is the

same, I know not.

Chares Mitylenæus is also cited by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander; and by Athenæus, lib. viil. 2;

lib. xii. 2; and lib. iii. 13. His seventh book of the History of Alexander is cited by the same author, lib. xii. 2; and lib. xiii. 4. See also Gellius, v. 2.

Charon. Three historians of this name are mentioned by Suidas, all which, it is very like, wrote histories of Alexander, unless perhaps the first, named Lampsacenus, be excepted because of his age. However, he lived long after the reign of the first Darius, as is manifest from several passages quoted from him by Athenæus. The Olympian Inscriptions assure us he lived in the time of Xerxes.

Chærilus. He was one of Alexander's followers, and wrote his achievements in verse; for Horace Epist. lib. ii. epist. 1, says,

How pleas'd with Chœrilus was Philip's son, When for harsh, ill-contriv'd, romantic praise, He freely gave him the substantial gold.

Curtius tells us he was a wretched poetaster, lib. viii. cap. 5, 8. The story of the bargain between Alexan der and him, is well known, viz. that he should have a piece of gold, as a reward for every good verse, and a box on the ear for every bad one. The verses which contain the epitaph of Sardanapalus, and are preserved by Athenæus, lib. xii. 7, seem to have been of his composing. Vid. Scaliger. ad Euseb. num. MDXXXIV.

Clearchus Soliensis. He was a scholar of Aristotle, and, among other things, wrote books of Lives, wherein he presented the world with that of Darius, who was overthrown by Alexander, as we are assured by Athenæus, lib. xii. cap. 9.

Clemens. We have no account of him but from Apuleius, who was his cotemporary; for thus he says, lib. 1. Florid. "All those acts of Alexander, my friend Clemens has illustrated in his shining verse, for he is the politest, as well as the most learned of all the poets."

Cleo, the Sicilian, is mentioned by Curtius, lib. viii.

cap. 5, as one of Alexander's chief flatterers; from whence we may gather, that he was one of those who wrote verses in praise of him. Stephanus in *Aowis, tells us of one Cleo a Syracusan, who wrote an account of havens, but whether he was the same or no, is uncertain.

Citarchus. Quintilian, lib. x. 1, approves his wit, but questions his veracity. His History of Alexander, of whom he was a follower, is cited by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander. Pliny, lib. vi. 13, 6. Ælian, in his History of Animals, lib. xii. 2, 22, 23, 25. He is also often quoted by Athenæus and Strabo. Some imagine that Curtius translated his history into Latin, because he commends him, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21. But that very passage ought to teach them better things; for there he mentions not Clitarchus alone, but Timagenes with him; and is so far from translating them, that he accuses them of too much incredulity.

Cluverius, in his Historical Epitome.

Constantinus Manasses.

Cornelius Nepos. He is said to have translated one of Alexander's epistles, concerning the situation of India, &c. into Latin. Whether he be the same who wrote an account of Alexander's exploits, and is mentioned by the author of Histor. Miscellan. lib. xii. 19, I know not.

Craterus. He was one of Alexander's generals, and is said to have wrote his history. Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, cap. 15, makes mention of Craterus, undoubtedly from his books περὶ ψηφισμάτων, as he is cited by Stephanus in his account of cities, who, notwithstanding he was a Macedonian, may be a different person from ours, whom Eumenes in Suidas commends exceedingly. However, ours wrote some accounts concerning Alexander, in an epistle to his mother Aristopatra, which Strabo takes notice of in his fifteenth book.

Deimachus. His Indian History is cited by Athenaus, lib. ix. cap. 11. Strabo, in his eleventh book, calls him an excessive lying author, for saying he was sent to Alitrochades the Indian. He left com-

mentaries of his journey behind him.

Desippus. He is quoted by Cedrenus in his Historical Compendium. A short abstract of him is to be found at the beginning of Eusebius's Chronicle. Eunapius, at the conclusion of Porphyry, tells us, that he lived in the times of Galienus and some succeeding emperors, and wrote a history of those times; as also, that he was excellently well skilled in logic and the liberal arts.

Dicearchus. He seems to have touched upon the story of Alexander the Great, in the books which he wrote concerning the lives of the Grecians, cited by Athenæus, lib. xiii. 1. He was a Sicilian of the city Messana, and a hearer of Aristotle, according to Suidas. Pliny often mentions his first books of geometrical writings, with honour; and assures us he was a learned man, and appointed to survey some mountains by the royal mandate. Africanus, in his account of the Ægyptian monarchs, annexed to Scaliger's edition of Eusebius, quotes a passage from his first book.

Dio Chrysostom Prusæus, among other things, is said by Suidas to have left behind him eight books, concerning the virtues of Alexander. See more of him in Photius his Bibliothec.

Diodorus Siculus.

Diodotus Erythræus wrote Commentaries of Alexander, as may be gathered from Athenæus, lib. x. 9.

Diogenes Babylonius. That he wrote an account of Alexander, is evident from Quintilian, i. 1, 8. and Clement. Alexandr. lib. i. Strom. So that they who will have him to have been preceptor to Antipater, must of necessity mean Antipater the younger.

Diognetus is joined with Bæton by Pliny, lib. vi.

17.

Dionysius was dispatched into India by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as Pliny assures us, lib. vi. 17; and while he tarried there with the kings of that country, he gave an account of the customs and policy of the nations there, which he could not do without making mention of the acts of Alexander, and his exploits in these parts.

Diotimus Atheniensis. That he is to be reckoned among the writers of Alexander's History, may be

learned from Athenaus, lib. x. 10,

Dorothæus Ascalonites. Athenæus cites his Histories of Alexander, lib. vii. 2.

Dresserus, in his Millenaries.

Duris Samius wrote upon various subjects, among which were accounts of the Macedonian affairs relating to Alexander. He is often quoted by Athenæus, and Plutarch in his discourses concerning Alexander.

Ephippus Olynthius, wrote an account of the obsequies of Alexander and Hephæstion, as is manifest from Athenæus, lib. x. 9, and lib. xii. 9. There is another historian of the same name mentioned by Suidas.

Eratosthenes Cyrenæus. Arrian, lib. v. cap. 3, tells us, he does not entirely agree with him in one particular, though presently after he calls him a grave and judicious author. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, makes mention of him frequently, and so do many more, but especially Strabo. But here we only propose to show those passages in authors, which declare him to have wrote concerning the acts of Alexander.

Eumenes Cardianus. He was one of Alexander's captains, as is evident from Arrian. Plutarch wrote his Life, as did Æmilius Probus, or Cornelius Nepos. Athenæus, lib. x. 9, quotes his commentaries of Alexander's actions. Suidas confounds him strangely with Eumenes surnamed Rergamenus, and says, an

account of Alexander was wrote by each of them. This name is to be rectified in Ælian's Various History, lib. iii. cap. 23, for the particulars related there are also to be found in Plutarch, and were undoubtedly taken from the Commentaries of Eumenes.

Eusebius Chronographus.

Eusebius, another of the same name. See Julius Valerius.

Frontinus, in his Treatise of Military Stratagems.

Glucas, in his Annals.

Gualterus Belga. He wrote the Acts of Alexander, in ten books, in heroic verse, which are published. Guilermus Briton commends him exceedingly in the preface to his Phillipid.

Harpocration. Why Raderus placed him in the catalogue of the writers of Alexander's acts, I cannot imagine.

Hartliebus Boius translated the History of Julius Valerius into the German language, as Raderus in-

forms us.

Heccatæus Eretriensis. He is reckoned among the writers of this History by Plutarch. It is not improbable but that he may be the same with Hecatæus Abderites, who wrote concerning Sparta; for that he was an historian, and one of Alexander's followers, we are assured by Josephus in his first book against Appion. See Vossius de Hist. Græcis, lib. i. cap. 10.

Hegesander. That he wrote many passages concerning Alexander, especially in his Commentaries, is plain from those places where Athenæus has men-

tioned him.

Hegesias Magnes. Some fragments of his History of Alexander, as is most probable, are to be found in Dionysius Halicarnassæus, de Structura Orationis; and in Agatharsides his Excerpts in Photius. They are produced in both these authors as examples of a dull

and dry composition. Cicero in his Brutus, cap. 83; and in his Treatise de Oratore, cap. 67, pronounces him a foolish author. And Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, gives him the character of an empty exclaimer.

Helymon sang Alexander's exploits in verse; and Alexander, as a punishment upon him for attempting a task so much beyond his abilities, caused him to be cooped up in a cage, where he died. Thus Raderus. See also Gyraldusde Poët. Dial. 3; and Suidas in Xolqulog.

Heraclides is quoted by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander; and I imagine him to be that Alexandrian who, as Laertius witnesses, wrote an account of the succession of their kings. There was also another of the same name, a Cumæan by birth, who wrote a history of the Persian affairs, and is cited by Atheneus. However, I am not able to gather from that author, whether he lived before Alexander or after.

Hermippus. Plutarch mentions him in his Life of

Alexander.

Hieronymus Cardianus. See Vossius de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 11, from Suidas. But I have some doubt of him.

Hister, who may perhaps be the Istrus of Volaterran, is said by Suidas to have wrote much. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, reckons him among the writers of this History.

Historia Miscellanea, lib. xii. cap. 19.

Jason. Vide Voss. de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 10. Idomeneus seems to be mentioned as one of the writers of the Alexandrine History, by Plutarch, in his Life of Demosthenes, cap. 32.

. Joannes Antiochenus wrote an history from Adam, wherein he made mention of Alexander, as is evident from the Excerpts of Constantine, which Henry Valesius a few years ago made public.

Joannes Monachus. Cœlius Rhodiginus attributes

a great deal to him, and commends him exceedingly. His work is prefixed to the Basil edition of Curtius, which was published in the year 1545; Angelus Cospus, of Bononia, being the Latin translator thereof.

Josephus.
Julian, the emperor, in his Cæsars.

Julius Valerius wrote a Latin history of Alexander, full of romance, which is by some ascribed to Æsopus, and by others to Callisthenes. And from hence, as from a plentiful store-house, Antoninus, Vincentius, Uspergensis, and others, have drawn their whole stock of fables. However, C. Barthius seems to have placed some value upon his work, as appears from this passage in lib. xi. cap. 10, Adversar. "Many such things," says he, " are to be found in that learned monk, who wrote a Life of Alexander, some ages since, stuffed full of prodigious lies; which, however, was formerly had in such esteem, that his authority was held good even by writers of merit. Such a one was Sylvester Gyraldus in England, not above four ages ago; and yet he made no scruple to quote his romance as a judicious historian. Whether this remarkable history was ever published, I know not. We ourselves have a manuscript copy thereof, but scarce think it valuable enough to deserve a place in our library. He is the same author whom Franciscus Juretus, in the 54th epistle of his first book to Symmachus, calls by the name of Æsopus, and says, Julius Valerius was only the translator. part. I can neither believe it to have been the work of a Greek nor Roman author; because the author, whoever he was, has shown himself so very ignorant in both languages." Thus far Barthius. It was translated into the German tongue, and printed at Strasburgh in the year 1486. He is cited by Salmasius in his Notes to Solinus, p. 1025, and called an ancient writer, who published a romantic history of Alexander.

Justin.

Laxius, in his History of Greece.

Lucan, in his Pharsalia.

Lucian, in his Dialogues.

Lycus. See Stephanus, at the word Dxispos.

Lyncaus Samius. That the acts of Alexander took up a part of his Commentaries, we may guess from Athenaus, lib. x. cap. 9.

Marsyas, the son of Periander. Athenæus, lib. xiv. 7, cites his history of the Macedonian affairs; and so does Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes. He wrote ten books, beginning at the first king of Macedonia, and ending with Alexander's march into Syria. He also wrote a treatise of the education of Alexander; for he had his education with him. He was a Pellæan by birth, and brother to Antigonus, who was afterwards a king, as Suidas informs us: Pliny, in his twelfth and thirteenth books, only calls him a Macedonian. He was admiral of the fleet under Demetrius, as Diodorus assures us, lib. xx. 51. See Vossius de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 10.

Matthiæ, Theatrum Historicum.

Megasthenes. Arrian, lib. v. cap. 5, calls him a well-approved author, and often quotes him, especially in his Indian History; and Ælian does the same in his History of Animals. He tarried some time with two of the Indian kings, and took an account of their customs and manners, as Pliny informs us, lib. vi. cap. 17. He was dispatched to Sandracottus, king of India, and left a journal of his travels behind him; which Strabo, lib. xi. tells us, is full of fables. He also wrote Politics, which are often taken notice of by Athenæus.

Menacchinus Sicyonius wrote a History of Alexander the Great, according to Suidas and Volaterran.

Marolichos Alexandrinorum. Nicephorus, the ecclesiastical historian, lib. x. 36, assures us, that these Alexandrians contained the Life of Alexander.

Nearchus. He accompanied Alexander in his expedition; was one of his captains; and wrote a history of his acts. Suidas tells us, he styled himself falsely, the admiral of Alexander's navy, when he was in reality no more than captain of one ship. But Suidas himself is in an error, and has fathered the story upon a wrong person, for it was Onesicritus. Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius, lib. iii. calls him admiral of the fleet; and so does Arrian in his Indian History, cap. 18, and elsewhere. Strabo, lib. ii., accuses him with romancing much in his history. And so does Arrian too, in his Indian History.

Nestor. Stephanus at theword, Tordora, cites his

Alexandriad.

Nicanor wrote an account of Alexander's acts; as Varro tells us in his fourth book of Divine Subjects, who is quoted by Lactantius, lib. i. cap. 6; and from him Sabellicus has taken it, Ennead. II. lib. iii.; as also Lud. Vives upon St. Augustine de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 27.

Nicobule. A fragment of his concerning Alexan-

der is to be found in Athenæus, lib. xii. 9.

Nymphis Heracletes wrote a treatise of Alexander and his Successors. Suidas. His ninth book, which contained an account of the Ptolemies, is mentioned by Ælian in his History of Animals, lib. xvii. 3.

Olympiads. Their description. This Scaliger published with his edition of Eusebius.

Onesicritus is cited by Pliny, lib. vi. 22, 2. He wrote an account of the birth and pedigree of Alexander, according to Laertius. Strabo, in his eleventh book, and more particularly in his fifteenth, taxes him with numerous instances of falsehood; so that you may much more truly style him director of all the fabulous and incredible stories concerning Alexander, than admiral of the royal navy. And indeed, to confess the truth, though all the friends and followers of Alexander, who wrote any memoirs on that

subject, wrote strange things instead of true ones; yet at the cooking up a monstrous story, he surpassed them all. This, in all probability, was he to whom Alexander, when he offered him his History, is reported to have said, "He wished he could have the liberty to return to life for a while after he was dead, that he might know how that History was received in the world." However, we are sure this is he who, Plutarch says, was reading a story concerning the Amazons (out of the fourth book of his History) to king Lysimachus, some years after Alexander's decease, whereat the king fell a laughing, and asked how such a thing could happen, and he know nothing of it, though he was present. See the notes on Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 13.

Orosius.

Orthagoras. That he sailed along with Onesicritus, is very probable from Ælian, in his History of Animals, lib. xvii. 6. He also wrote nine books of the Indian affairs, which the same author cites in the same work, lib. xvi. 35. As also Philostratus in his Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, lib. iii.

Otto Frisingensis.

Patroclus. He is mentioned by Strabo, lib. ii. and says, that all the friends and followers of Alexander in his expedition, had only a transient kind of a view of things; but Alexander himself took especial care to understand every thing thoroughly, because the descriptions of countries were always delivered to him by the most expert persons. He says this account was given him by Xenocles the treasurer.

Petavius, Dionysius, in his Chronology.

Pezelius. His Speculum Historiæ.

Phanias, as quoted by Clement, lib. i. Stromat. takes notice of Alexander's expedition into Asia. I therefore imagine him to be the scholar of Aristotle, mentioned by Suidas.

Philippus Chalcidensis.

Philippus Isangelus. This and the former are mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander.

Philon Thebanus is also taken notice of by the same

author in the same work.

Philostratus.

Phylarchus. I had scarce reckoned him among the writers of this History, had not Raderus introduced him; for I can find nothing which he has ever written to rank him among this class. Atheneus indeed, lib. vi. 13, quotes a passage out of his sixth book which relates to Alexander; but then it is certain that was one of the books which treated con-

cerning Pyrrhus and the later kings.

Pindarus. His verses upon Alexander are cited by Dionysius in his Rhetorics, p. 179. From whence Raderus concludes, that this Pindar was later than Alexander. Suidas also takes notice of it. However, I much rather believe, that the verses cited by Dionysius were wrote by Pindar the elder, to Alexander king of Macedon; not our Alexander the Great, but another, namely, his great-grandfather; for which reason, no Pindar has any right to a place in this catalogue. And what Dio Chrysostom has written in his second Oration, and Tretzes Chil. E. 7, 139, confirm the truth of this assertion.

 $m{P}$ linius.

Plutarchus.

Polyænus.

Polycletus Larissæus: The eighth book of his Histories is cited by Athenæus, lib. xil. 9. One Polycletus is also mentioned by Strabo, lib. xvi.; whom I imagine the same person.

Polycritus. He is taken notice of by Plutarch in

his Life of Alexander.

Pompeius Trogus. Justin abridged his History: I fancy he is cited in Histor. Miscellan. lib. xii. cap. 19.

Potamon Mitylenæus. He is also reckoned among

those writers by Volaterran, and others, from Suidas; who says he lived under Tiberius, and was highly honoured and esteemed by him.

Praxagorus. Photius mentions him, lib. lxii.

Ptolemæus, who reigned in Ægypt after Alexander's decease. Arrian assures us, he chiefly copies from him. Curtius also mentions him, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21, and Plutarch in his Life of Alexander. And this I chose to take notice of, because Gesner in his Bibliothec. has committed an error, in imagining this Ptolemy, and the Anticlides in Plutarch, to have been one and the same person. Athenæus commends his Memoirs exceedingly.

Rheineccius.

Sabellicus.

Scaliger, in Eusebianis.

Seleucus. He was one of Alexander's captains; and, unless my memory fails me, we have some account of his Memoirs of Alexander, in Diodorus.

Seneca.

Sigomus. In his Treatise of the Athenian Years. Sleidan. Of the four Empires, with the Continuation.

Solinus.

Sonater wrote twelve books of Excerpts of various sorts of Learning; in the tenth whereof, as Photius informs us, Cod. cxli. the acts of Alexander are recorded.

Soterichus Asites, an heroic poet, wrote an Alexandriac, that is, the story of Alexander the Great, after he had taken Thebes and other places. Suidas.

Sotion. He is mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander.

Strabo. He not only interspersed much of Alexander's Life here and there among his Geography; but also wrote a particular history thereof, as he himself informs us, almost at the beginning of Book xi. of his Geography.

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Strattis Olynthius wrote Alexander's Commentaries, in five books, as also an account of his death. Suidas.

Suidas.

Tarick Mircond, in his Persian History.

Texeira. Petrus Lusitanus mentions him in his Itinerary concerning the Persian Kings.

Timagenes. He is cited by Curtius, lib. ix. 5, 21. See an account of him in Quintil. Institut. lib. x. 1.

Turca. A certain Turk translated Alexander's exploits into their language, by the express command of Selymus the First. This Boterus testifies in his Policy of Illustrious Men, lib. xi. cap. 2. As also Tubero, lib. x. towards the conclusion of the Memoirs of his own Times. See Achmet.

Varro. Raderus informs us that he wrote a small Epitome of Alexander's History.

Vincentius Bellovacensis, in his Speculum. Volaterranus, Raphael.

Usher, Archbishop, in his Annals.

Uspergensis Abbas.

Zenobia. She was a queen of the East, and claims a place here from the testimony of Trebellius Pollio, in his Account of the Thirty Tyrants, cap. 18. He says; she was so expert in the history of Alexander, and that of the Eastern nations, that she is said to have written an abstract of them.

Zonaras. See Johannes Monachus. Zosimus.

Thus have I given at least the names of most of the authors who have touched upon this story. What additions I have made to the former catalogue, may be easily perceived by any of my readers who will take the pains to compare mine with that prefixed to the best editions of Curtius. Howbeit, I have still to add some of our noted English authors who have

touched upon that subject; namely, Sir Walter Raleigh and Dr Prideaux, whose works are well received in the world, and whom I have not so much as named, nor quoted any thing from them, because I was willing to avoid censure as much as possible. I have collected my remarks from the same authors whence they had their works; and if we any where differ considerably, it is not unlikely but one or more of us may be in an error. However, this I shall say in behalf of my two ingenious countrymen, that as they had large and extensive works upon their hands, it was impossible they should be altogether exact in every minute particular. We have some other English writers who have wrote particularly upon this story; but they are neither many in number, nor their writings worth the notice.

A BRIEF

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF ALL THE

MOST REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

DURING THE REIGN OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

ACCORDING TO THE

GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS OF TIME,

EXTRACTED CHIEFLY FROM ARRIAN.

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.		Year of Alexander.
336	417	C. Sulpicius Longus, P. Ælius Petus.	BOOK I. Philip king of Macedon slain, Aug. 18, according to Scaliger. Septem. 13, according to Petavius; and Sept. 24, according to Usher in his Annals, p. 157. Hisson Alexander succeeding him, marches into Peloponnesus, where he was declared generalissimo of Greece against the Persians, by all but the Lacedæmonians. Returning into Macedonia,	Pytho- demus.	cxi	21st Reg. 1.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Remain Companie	Memorable Actions and Events.	Atbenien Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
335	418	L. Pa- pyrius Crassus, Cæso Duillius.	he hastes early the next spring through Thrace, against the Triballi and Illyrians, whom he overcomes, as also the Getes beyond the river Ister: whereupon the Triballi, Celtæ, and other nations sue for peace, and obtain it. This done, Alexander marches against Clitus, dispatches Langarus to quell the Autariatæ, and having beat Clitus's army, forces him to fly for refuge among the Taulantii. The revolt of the Thebans: Its occasion. Alexander's expeditious march to Thebes, and encampment against it. Perdiccas attacks the city without orders. The city taken, sacked, and demolished. October 4. The Arcadians, Eleans and Ætolians pardoned. The Athenians send an embassy to him. He demands that nine of their orators should be delivered up but at last receives them into favour, on account of their banishing Chari-	tus.	2	22d
334	419	M. Valerius Corvinus, M Attilius Regulus.	into Macedonia; consti- tutes Antipater viceroy o Grace: leads his force	cles.	3	23d

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			army pass over to Abydus. He then sacrifices to Protesilaus at Eleus. Embarks there, and crosses the Hellespont. Takes down a suit of armour from the temple of Pallas, and hangs up his own in their stead. Sacrifices to Priamus. Crowns the tomb of Achilles. Several cities surrendered to him. He marches forward to the river Granicus, and on May 20, attacks the Persians. Gains the victory. Honours his Macedonians who fell, with statues of brass; and, in commemoration thereof, sends three hundred suits of Persian armour to Athens, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva there. Daschylium taken. Sardes delivered up, and a temple erected to Jupiter Olympius in the castle. Ephesus abandoned by Amyntas the governor, and seized by Alexander, who sacrifices to Diana there. Miletus besieged and taken. Alexander sends the fleet home. Enters Caria. Besieges Halicarnassus. Attempts Myndus without success. Returns to Halicarnassus, which the Persian garrison having set fire to, retired to two castles.			

			CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.			317
Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			The city demolished. A-lexander then restores the government of Caria to Ada. Sends the new married soldiers home, to spend the winter with their wives. Dispatches Parmenio with a party into Phrygia. Enters Lycia. Causes Alexander the son of Aeropus, to be seized for treasonable practices. Passes into Pamphylia. Takes Aspendus. Marches into Pisidia. Seizes on Sides and other cities. Enters Phrygia. Takes Salagassus. Has Celenæ delivered to him, and sends letters to Parmenio to meet him with his forces at Gordium.			Reg.
333	420	T. Ve- turius, Sp. Posthu- mius.	BOOK II. Memmon the Rhodian, Darius's admiral, designing to remove the seat of war into Greece, seizes on Chius, and several cities in the island Lesbos, but dies at the siege of Mitylene. Pharnabazus and Autophradates succeed him. Mitylene surrendered to them. Thymondas receives the command of the Greek auxiliaries. Tenedos yielded to the Persians. Proteas overcomes Datames the Persian at	Nico- crates.	4	24

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			sea, who escapes with great difficulty to the fleet. Alexander enters Gordium, where the new married soldiers, whom he had sent home to winter with their wives, methim; as also Parmenio with his party. Thither the Athenians send ambassadors to request the release of their citizens, which had been taken prisoners at the battle of Granicus, but without effect. He then unties the fatal knot. Has Paphlagonia delivered to him. Subdues Cappadocia. Passes through the streights. Enters Cilicia. Hastes forward to Tarsus, which had been abandoned by the governor. Bathes himself in the river Cydnus, and contracts a sudden numbness, which put him in great danger of his life, till Philip the Acarnanian cured him. Then having dispatched Parmenio to take possession of the streights which lead into Syria, he marches to Anchialos. Seizes Soli. Subdues the Cilician mountaineers, and receives intelligence that Orontobates the Persian general, who held the castle of Halicarnassus, Myndus, Caunus, Theras,	j		

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Reman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archeus.	Olympind.	Year of Alexander.
			and Callipolis, was over- thrown by Ptolemy and Asander. Arrives at Me- garsus. Passes on to Malli, where he receives advice that Darius with his whole army lay at Sochos. Darius having taken Issus, puts the Ma- cedonian garrison to the sword, and hastes to the river Pinarus. Alexan- der enters the streights of Issus. The disposi- tion of both armies. The battle of Issus, where A- lexander obtained a great victory, the mother, wife, and children of Darius being taken prisoners; himself hardly escaping. This battle was fought in the month which the Greeks call Maimacte- rion, whose first day an- swered to our October 28, according to Usher, p. 163. Darius thence hastes to Thapsacus, where he crosses the Euphrates, while Alexander marches forward into Syria. Has Aradus delivered to him. Receives Darius's em- bassy and letters, and answers them haughtily. Has news brought him that Parmenio had seized all the royal treasures at Damascus. Dismisses the Greek ambassadors whom he had taken prisoners.			Reg.

-200						
Yours before Christ.	Years after the build-	Roman Commis	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenias Archans	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
332	421	Anar- chia Komæ, absque Consu- libus.	Takes Bybles and Sydon. Is met by the Tyrians, who deny him entrance into their city; whereupon he resolves to besiege it. He begins a rampart to join it to the continent, which is destroyed by the citizens, but rebuilt, and the city besieged by sea and land. Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylus king of Byblus, desert the Persian interest, and join their fleet with Alexander's. Tyre is taken after a long siege, in the month Hecatombæon, the first day of which, Usher, p. 167, says, answers to our July 24. Darius then sends other ambassadors with letters to Alexander, but the conditions are refused. Gaza besieged, and after two months taken by storm, the inhabitants sold, and a new colony planted therein.	Nicetas.	cxii.	25
			Book III.			
			ALEXANDER arrives in Ægypt, the seventh day after his departure from Gaza, and is received in a friendly manner at Pelu- sium; which having gar- risoned, he marches first to Heliopolis, and thence			Reg. 5.

	<u> </u>					
Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls,	Memorable Actions and Events.	Atheniah Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
331	422	L. Cornelius Cossus, Cn. Domitius Calvi- nus.	resolves upon a journey to visit the temple of	phanes.	2	26

32Z			CHEONOLOGICAL TABLE.			
Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
330		M. Clau- dius Mar- cellus, C. Va- lerius Potitus.	Places Harpalus over the treasury, and rewards other exiles. He then marches straight to Thapsacus, where he passes the Euphrates in the month Hecatombseon, a complete year after the overthrow of Tyre. He then marches through Mesopotamia, fords over the Tigris, and hastes forward to meet the enemy, who, he was informed, were not far off. A great solipse of the moon then happened, on the 25th day of the month Boedromion, which answers to our Septem. 20. Eleven days after which, was the fatal battle of Gaugamela. Darius flees into Media. Alexander marches to Arbela, where he seizes upon all the treasures and royal furniture lodged there for safety, and thence marches to Babylon, which was delivered up to him. Thence he proceeds to Susa, where he seizes an immense treasure. Thence, passing ever the Pasitigris, he subdues the Uxians, but coming to the Persian streights, finds them blocked up by Ariobarzanes; but being shewed another way, he routs the party and puts	Aristo- phon.	3	Reg. 6.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander,
			them to flight. He thence marches to Persepolis, takes it, and burns the royal palace there. Passes on to Pasargadæ, which is also delivered into his hands. Phrasaortes is then deputed governor of Persia, and Alexander having received advice that Darius had retired into Media, directs his march thither. Subdues the Paretacæ. Enters Media, and arrives at Ecbatana, where he sends home the Thessalian cavalry. Thence moves to Rhages, and thence into Parthia. Enters the Caspian Streights, where hearing that Darius was taken into custody, and that Bessus had assumed the style and title of emperor, he marches with the utmost expedition after him. Darius, cruelly wounded by Satibarzaries and Barsaentes, dies before Alexander could come up, and the murderers make their escape. The death of Darius happened in the month Hecatombæon, a full year after Alexander had passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, and just two years after the destruction of Tyre. Nabarzanes, Phrataphernes, Artaba-			Reg.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
329	424	L. Pa- pyrius Cras- sus, L.Plau- tius Venno.	gainst the Arii, and thence resolves to pursue Bessus into Bactria; but is hindered by the treacherous revolt of Satibarzanes. He marches against the Drangse. Philotas accused of treasonable practices against his sovereign: Is slain: And messengers dispatched into Media, to put his father Parmenio to death. Amyntas and his brothers seized and acquitted. Alexander divides the royal cohort into two commands. Marches into the country of the Agriaspæ. Seizes Demetrius, one of	Cephi- sophon.	3	28 Reg. 8.
328	42 5	L. Æ- milius Mam- Mer- cus, C.Plau- tius De- cimus.	his body-guards. Moves on towards Bactria. Reduces the Drangæ, Arachoti, and Indians bordering upon them, and constitutes Menon their governor. Erigyius encounters Satibarzanes, and slays him. Bessus lays all the country nigh Mount Parapamisus waste; and passing the river Oxus, burns his boats. However, Alexander having reduced Bactria, and left Artabazus, the Persian, their governor, advan-	Euthy- critus.	cxiii	29 Reg. 9.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build-	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			ces with his army to the river Oxus, and passes it. Bessus is seized by his own party, and delivered up to Alexander, who orders him to be whipped, and sent into Media, to receive judgment there. Alexander marches thence to Maracanda; and thence to the river Tanais, or Orxantes; where, advancing against the natives, he was wounded in the leg. However, he routs them, and returns victorious.			
			ALEXANDER having received an embassy from the Abian Scythians, and another from the European Scythians, (or those beyond the river Orxantes,) chooses a place for building a city near the Tanais, but is diverted from his purpose by a revolt of the Barbarians. He invests and takes seven of their cities. Dispatches forces against Spitamenes. Builds the city he had proposed. Denounces war against the Scythians. Sacrifices for his safe passage over the river. His augur threatens him with ill			

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archens	Olympind.	Year of Alexander.
			success: however he passes safe over it, and vanquishes his enemies; who then send another embassy to excuse their revolt. Spitamenes repulsed by the Macedonian garrison, in the castle of Maracanda, and pursued by Pharauces. The Macedonians beaten by the Scythians. Alexander marches to the relief of the castle of Maracanda, again besieged by Spitamenes. The siege raised. He passes on to Zariaspa, where Barza entes and others are de livered up to him. He assumes the Median ha bit. Sacrifices to the Bio scuri. Is offended at Clitus, and slays him Repents of his folly, when too late. Sacrifices to Bacchus. Is conforted by Anaxarchus. Callisthenes's liberty aspeech and arrogance. Alexander requires addration. Callisthenes not suffered to kiss him. The conspiracy of the Macedonian youths agains their sovereign. Epimenes reveals it. The youth seized. Confess the guilt, and are stoned Callisthenes's death. The king of Scythia profers his daughter in marriage to Alexander. The	e tt., nod - ff. e. o. tt.		

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
327	! ! ! !	P.Plau- ius Procu- us, P. Cor- nelius Scipio		Hege- non.	2	30 Reg. 10.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls,	, Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
		o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o	taken. Austanes slain. From Bactria, the spring being now half spent, he undertakes an expedition into India, and having passed over Mount Caucasus in ten days, visits the city which he had built before among the Parapamisans. Appoints Tyriespes their governor. Marches to Nicæa, and thence to the river Cophenes, where he is met by Taxiles and other princes, whose territories lay beyond the river Indus. He then moves against the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arsaci, and at the siege of one of their cities receives a wound in the shoulder, but takes the city, and demolishes it. Has Andraca surrendered to him. Arrives at the river Eusapla. Ptolemy kills the Indian general. The Barbarians routed. Alexander marches against the Assaceni. Lays siege to Massaga; their capital city. Is wounded. The city surrendered, on condition that the mercenary Indians should be let free. They are all out to the sword. Bazira and Ora surrendered. Aornus viewed. Peuceliostaken. The king arives at Embolima, and			

Years befo re Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and .Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			draws his forces towards the rock Aornus. Pto- lemy gains the top there- of. Alexander joins him with his forces. The rock delivered up. He then directs his march against the Assaceni, and arrives at the river Indus.	ı	5	
			Book V.			
			ALEXANDER advances to Nyssa. Is met by deputies from the citizens, and harangued by Aculphis. He views Mount Meros, and sacrifices to Bacchus. Passes the river Indus, over a bridge laid by Perdiccas and Hephæstion. Arrives at Taxila. Is honourably received by Taxiles, the prince of that country. Receives an embassy from king Abissarus. Marches forwards to the river Hydaspes, where Porus lay encamped or the further bank. Porus deceived by the noises in his camp. Alexander having found a place in the river, makes ready to pass over. Is favoured in his passage by a dreadful storm, for the guards were retired from the shore. Porus send			

Years before Christ.	Years after the baild- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			his son with a small party to encounter them; but his party is worsted, and his son slain. The disposition of both armies. The elephants in Porus's army being wounded, do much mischief to friends as well as foes. Alexander gains the victory. Porus taken prisoner. Is generously used. Has his kingdom restored him, and much more. This battle was fought in the month which the Greeks call Munychion, which Usher, pag. 196, makes to quadrate with our May, and Arrian assures us it was towards the summer solstice. Alexander builds a city on each bank of the river; one where he gained the battle, the other where his horse Bucephalus died. He then marches against the Glaucæ; and had their whole country delivered into his hands, which he bestowed on Porus. Taxiles reconciled to Porus, and sent home. Alexander passes on towards the river Acesines; which having passed, he dismisses Porus, and sends him to his own kingdom. He then marches after another Porus, who had fled out of his ter-	,		

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander,
			ritories; and arrives at the river Hydraotes, which he passes; and hearing that the Cathæi, and other free nations, were making preparations to meet him in arms, he hastes towards them. Arrives at Sangala. Defeats his enemy, and forces their entrenchment: then besieges their city, surrounds it with a rampart, and at last takes and demolishes it. He then proceeds to the river Hyphasis, where his soldiers begin to mutiny, which he endeavours to quell by fine words. Conus makes a speech in answer to that of Alexander; who being enraget thereat, retires into his tent; but at last fixe the utmost bounds of his expedition. Then returning, he repasses the Hydraotes, and comes to the Acesines, where he receives Arsaces and thambassadors of Abissare courteously; then passing the Acesines, he arrives at the Hydaspes and repairs as much of the two new-built citie as had been damaged by an inundation of the river.	is see e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e		

Years before Christ,	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			Book VI. ALEXANDER makes ready his fleet, and determines to visit the ocean. Supposes he has found out the head of Nilus. Conus dies. Porus made king over all the Indian nations he had yet conquered. The fleet ordered. He sacrifices to the gods of the rivers. The voyage begun about the time of the rise of the Pleiades; which Pliny fixes to the fourth of November. Craterus and Hephæstion march along each bank, till they arrive at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Ace-			
326	427	L. Cornelius Lentu- lus, Q. Pub- licus Philo.	ander gives fresh orders, and sails towards the Malli, whom he over-		3	31 Reg. 11.

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			Macedonians breaking in, the castle is taken, and all therein put to the sword. The king's wound dressed; and a report of his death being spread abroad, he hastes to the Hydraotes, and is joyfully received by his soldiers. The Malli and Oxydracæ surrender their country into his hands, the government of which he committed to Philip. He then arrives at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines; and sailing down the Acesines, comes to the fall thereof into the river Indus. The Abastani subdued. The Ossadii surrender themselves and country into his hands. About this time Oxyartes came to him, on whom he conferred the government of the Parapamisans; Tiryestes, their former governor, being deposed for maladministration. He then sails down the river Indus to the territories of the Sogdii, where he builds a city and repairs his navy; and having made Oxyartes and Python governors of all the country, from the mouth of the river Acesines to the sea, as also the seacoast, and sent Craterus			

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			with part of his forces through the countries of the Arachoti and Drangte, he arrives with the rest at the kingdom of Musicanus; who yields himself, and is reinstated in his dominions. He then invades the territories of Oxicanus, and wins two of his cities, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. Sindomana, the capital of king Sambus, delivered up. Musicanus attempting to revolt, is seized and crucified, and with him all the Brachmans, who had instigated him thereto. Alexander then arrives at Pattala, about the rise of the Dog-star, and not long after the setting of the Pleisdes, when he had been nigh ten months sailing down the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus. This, Usher tells, was towards the conclusion of our July. The king of Pattala received into friendship, and restored to his government. Craterus dispatched with part of the forces through Arachosia and Drangiana, and ordered to meet him in Carmania. The Pattalans revolt. Hephæstion ordered to build a castle in their capital			

Years before Christ.	Years after the build-ring of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athen ian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
325	428	lius Libo, L.Papy- rius Mu-	duced him to lead his army through such a	Cephi- sodorus.	4	32 Reg 12.

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Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			count of the miseries which his forces underwent in their march through the deserts of Gadrosia. Thoas succeeds Apollophanes, and Sibyrtius Thoas, in the government of that country. The king on his way to Carmania, when he received news that Philip, whom he had deputed governor over part of India, was slain; whereupon he orders Eudemus and Taxiles to take care of the administration of affairs, till he should depute a successor. Ordones brought prisoner to Alexander by Craterus. Cleander and Sitalces put to death for divers crimes. Heracon escapes punishment at that time, but afterwards suffers at Susa. Alexander sacrifices to the gods for the preservation of his army. Nearchus relates what he had observed in his voyage, and is ordered to proceed to Susa. The king having dispatched Hephæstion before into Persia, marches to Pasargadæ. Orxines having undertaken the government of Persia, after the death of Phrasaortes, is continued by Alexander. Baryaxes, who had set	₹_		

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Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	year of Alexander.
			himself up for king of Media and Persia, brought to him by Atropates, governor of Media. He and his associates put to death. The sepulchre of Cyrus described. It had been broke open, and plundered; but the king ordered it to be repaired. The care thereof committed to Aristobulus. The Magi, who were the keepers thereof, examined concerning the robbery, but acquitted. Orxines convicted of sundry crimes, and put to death. Peucestas deputed to succeed him. BOOK VII. Alexander's vast designs. His mind insatiable. He is reproved by the Indian sages, as he had been before by Diogenes the Cynic. He has an ambition of carrying one of the Indian Gymnosophists along with him. Dandamis opposes him. Calanus consents to accompany him. An account of his burning himself alive afterwards, in Persia. Atropates sent back to his government. Abulites, with his son Oxathres, put to death at the king's			

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Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			return to Susa. The nuptials of Alexander, and his friends royally solemnized after the Persian manner. The number of those who espoused Barbarian women. He discharges all the debts contracted by his whole army. Bestows crowns of gold on Peucestas, Leonnatus, and others, as rewards for signal services. Receives thirty thousand youths; which gave great disgust to his old soldiers. Other causes of their complaints. The king sails down the river Eulæwinto the Persian Gulf and thence entering the Tigris, passes up to his camp, from whence he marches to Opis, where he dismisses part of his forces, whereupon the rest mutiny, and demand a release. The king, grie vously enraged, hale thirteen of the ringlead ers of this sedition away to immediate execution and upbraids the rest in a speech, with the extra ordinary obligations they lay under to his fathe Philip and himself. He then causes all the offices round his person to be supplied by Persians This so humbles the Macedonians, that they			

Years before Christ.	Years after the building of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
321	429	millus, Junius Brutus	come in a suppliant manner, and stand before the gates of his palace, and at last obtain the favour to be called the king's kindred as well as the Persians. Part of the forces sent home under the conduct of Craterus. Craterus deputed governor of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, instead of Antipater, who was ordered to raise recruits, and attend Alexander in Asia. About this time Harpalus having wasted the royal treasury of six thousand talents, and made his escape to Athens, and thence sailed into Crete, where he was seized and slain by one of his followers. Sundry quarrels between Hephæstion and Eumenes. They are reconciled. The army then marches towards Echatana. Arrives at the Nysman fields. Warlike women presented to the king by Atropates, who were reported to be Amazons. Alexander arrives at Echatana with his forces. Hephæstion dies; whereat the king grieves immoderately. He invades the Cosseans, and subdues them. Is met by the ambassadore	Hege-sias.	cxiv.	33 Reg. 13.

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			of sundry nations, in his way to Babylon. The Romans none of the number. Dispatches Heraclides with divers shipcarpenters into Hyrcania, to cut down wood for shipping there. Is dissuaded by the Chaldeans from entering into Babylon; but suspecting their interest to be the reason of their advice, he rejects it. Pythagoras, a noted augur, is said to have foretold the death of Hephæstion, and also of Alexander. Calanus had foretold the king's death before. Alexander, at his entrance into Babylon, gives the Greek ambassadors a kind reception, and dismisses them. Prepares to set out a fleet against the Arabians. Makes a haven at Babylon. The Arabians worshipped Cœlum and Bacchus, and Alexander resolves to wage war against them, to oblige them to worship him too. Dispatches Archias, and then Androsthenes, and last of all Hieron of Soli, to sail round their coast, and bring him an account thereof; but they all return without effecting their purpose. He sails down the Euphrates to Palacopas, eight hun-			

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
			dred stadia from Babylon: whence he proceeded into Arabia, where having built a city, he peopled it with a colony of Greeks. At his return, the royal tiara was blown off his head into the water, but taken up and presented to him again by an expert swimmer. He returns to Babylon. Finds his forces augmented. Exercises his seamen. Orders Hephæstion to be worshipped as a hero, by the advice of Jupiter Hammon, and temples to be built to him in Ægypt. The king's last entertainment. He falls sick of a fever on the eighteenth day of the month Dæsius, which answers to our May 12th, and died on the 28th of the same month, or May 22d, according to Usher: though Aristobulus places his death on May 24, Ælian on May 18, and Petavius on July 19. If we take Usher's account, who is the last of these chronologers, (and seems to me to be the most exact,) Alexander reigned twelve years and eight months, according to Arrian's account. Divers opinions concerning the cause of his death. His			

Years before Christ.	Years after the build- ing of Rome.	Roman Consuls.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Athenian Archons.	Olympiad.	Year of Alexander.
		1	extraordinary endow- ments. His vices. Why he began to affect his divine original, and changed his Macedonian habit. Why he delight- ed so much in entertain- ments.	•		
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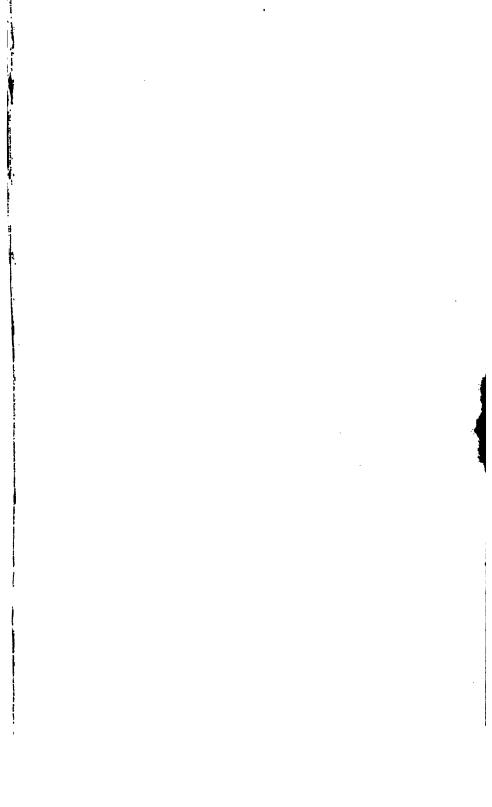
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Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge, Surrey.

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